Reasons for the Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch

BY

REV. ISAAC GIBSON

INTRODUCTION BY

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REASONS FOR THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE HEXATEUCH

BY

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INTRODUCTION BY

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Contents

I.

PROGRESS OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

II.

THE BIBLE IN THE HOUSE OF ITS FRIENDS.

III.

THE TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH AND JOSHUA OR THE HEXATEUCH, UNRELIABLE.

IV.

THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST UPON THE ORIGIN OF THE PENTATEUCH.

V.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE HEXATEUCH THAT PROVE READJUSTMENT BY THE HIGHER CRITICISM TO BE NECESSARY.

VI.

EXAMPLES OF THE CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE HEXATEUCH INTO THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

VII.

THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THESE DOCUMENTS.

VIII.

THE ORDER AND DATES OF THE COMPOSITE WORK.

IX.

THE HISTORICITY OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

X.

THEIR INSPIRATION.

Introduction

It is with pleasure that I accept the invitation of my friend, Mr. Gibson, to write a few introductory lines for his book. I do this with the greater willingness, because I believe that something more ought to be said in a brochure of this kind on two or three points than he has felt himself called on to insert in the body of the work. Indeed, the things I have in mind are sufficiently irrelevant to the general outline of Mr. Gibson's thought, to render them unsuitable for elaboration in any other place than just such a semi-detached "Introduction."

I.

The appeal that this book makes to the reading public will find its heartiest response among the clergy and the more intelligent lay people. It is distinctly *not* a "popular" statement in the sense of endeavoring to do all the thinking for the reader. On the contrary, the author has wisely chosen to direct his argument to those persons—after all, the really important members of society—who are in a position to assimilate material of this character by independent

and serious thought on their own parts, and who therefore may be expected to welcome such a statement as the present.

They will do this precisely for the reason that Mr. Gibson's volume, after having placed before them the plain facts in the case, pays them the compliment of taking for granted that they will prefer in large part to deduce therefrom *for themselves* the principles and results that are genetically and logically bound up in them.

The book, then, presupposes that its readers shall be sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently interested (*both* are essential), to apply for their own individual purposes the reasons for the Higher Criticism that it contains. It also assumes that, should the two conditions just stated be satisfied, they will not decline the somewhat strenuous mental exertion which the work demands for its thorough and candid mastery. Should one object to this "tax," the answer is very simple.

Many popular books have been written on this subject, and, of course, another could have been added to the list, had the author so desired. But, with rare moderation, he chose to forego the delights of this relatively easy task because it was evident, from the nature of the case, that all such treatises must be superficial, slight and cursory. They must skim over the subject, dipping but little below the surface, and

therefore must set forth facts so obvious that, to the reader of only average education, they must lack novelty and cogency, while to the student, they shall be commonplace and insufficient.

This is inevitably the case for one constant and characteristic reason: the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament is an extremely intricate, complex and elaborate intellectual procedure. The talk one finds in books of the popular class about the "simplicity" and "plainness" of critical investigation is all specious nonsense. The Higher Criticism of the Old Testament or of any other body of literature is the diametrical opposite—it involves the fullest and broadest training on the part of its professors. It requires as a prerequisite years of special study resulting in the development of a reliable critical faculty, illuminated by a wide familiarity with not only the laws of literary production and the universal principles of literary criticism, but (certainly in the case of the Old Testament) a technical knowledge of Semitic Philology in the *broadest* sense of that term, together with at least a working knowledge of Oriental Archæology, anthropology in the department of ethnic psychology, the phenomenology of comparative religion, the history of the development of thought among the Semitic nations, and last, but not least, an original native endowment of that critical sense by which alone, despite the widest intellectual culture, the student is able to pronounce reliable critical judgments.

It will be seen at once that if this sort of training *is* necessary, only a comparatively small fraction of educated people can possibly attain anything approaching distinction in higher literary criticism. Further, it is clearly quite out of the question to make an expert of every *clergyman,* though fairly instructed in the general theological sciences. Indeed, very few people are in a position to put themselves through even the necessary *external* training, to say nothing of creating that fundamental habit or predilection of mind and essential critical faculty, without which the other is just so much sterile material. The bare absorption of the vast learning which constitutes the apparatus of criticism requires a diligence in application and an accuracy of apprehension that must forever restrict it to a mere fragment of the educated world. Literally years of the most patient and laborious endeavor will prepare the vast majority of students only to *understand* the significance of the work *already done.*

II.

This being the situation, it may reasonably be asked: Why undertake to "popularize" such a subject at all? If it really demands such unusual sacrifices, why endeavor to disseminate knowledge among untrained minds, which cannot help being altogether superficial, in large degree merely elementary, and, to some

extent, on account of its partialness, positively misleading?

The answer is the same that would be given by the author of a non-technical work on astronomy, or mathematical physics, or therapeutics, theology, linguistics, physiological psychology, chemistry, zoology, or any other abstruse subject, namely, that enough *can* be said on the general topic to acquaint the ordinary reader with many *important results,* to show their significance for the general methodology of science, and in some degree even to exhibit—if only in a very simple way—the instruments by which the specialist works to reach them.

Such a consequence—while it in no degree invests the reader with authority in matters critical—any man with the slightest spark of altruism in his composition or desire for elevating the standard of general education, must hail with cordial enthusiasm. The old adage, that half a loaf is better than none, notwithstanding the complementary warning as to the danger of a little learning, still stands for a universal truth that men, fortunately, have never yet been willing to discard as a principle of the intellectual life. It is the underlying *raison d'être* of all education. Indeed we may go further and say that *partialness* is a note of our whole life—cabin'd, cribb'd and confin'd as it effectually is by its finite structure. Therefore, to reject some knowledge because it is not complete, would involve rejecting all knowledge of whatever description.

On the contrary, the inherent yearning, even passion, for knowledge which clamors as an insatiable thirst for "more" is the sure guarantee that mankind will never cease its quest. With Mr. Bain: "Among the sensations of organic life, I may cite thirst as remarkable for the urgency of its pressure upon the will;" which means, figuratively, that the "flaming thirst" of knowledge compels the will to any expedient and any exertion whereby it may be appeased. And when, as in the case of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, the interest is stimulated by some impulse connected with the vital sentiment of religion, then everyone is prepared to study, *so far as in him lies,* to gratify its requirements.

The demand has resulted in a corresponding supply of "popular" books of the class of which I spoke at the beginning. The present treatise in a general way does belong with them. In a different sense, as I have said, it does not, since it presupposes a certain amount of Biblical scholarship, a certain intensity of interest and a capacity to comprehend the subject, which are associated usually with previous study. In other words, the man who knows *nothing* of the questions involved in this particular branch of learning, and who has not a somewhat intimate acquaintance with the text of the Old Testament, will find this book rather difficult and sometimes obscure reading. In my opinion, this is exactly as it should be;

since the general reader is already amply provided for, while there is a large class of clergyman and professional men who apparently have been neglected. To them this book will be a real boon. It presupposes just enough familiarity with the subject, and its perusal requires just enough time to suit their many exacting engagements.

III.

I have entered thus fully into the nature of the critical study of the Old Testament, partly to introduce the observation that a graduate in theology from any ordinary seminary is not qualified by the usual curriculum which is pursued in such institutions either to conduct original research on his own account, or to test the labors of those who are. At that stage he is simply "beginning to be a learner." If any one will try to realize what it means to fit oneself for competency in these matters as outlined in Section I, and then compare therewith the scope of the undergraduate course in theology, he will admit the truth of this remark; and since the learned pursuits of the seminary are seldom continued in the active work of the ministry, it follows, as a matter of fact, that the ordinary parish priest stands in much the same relation to the expert in Biblical criticism as that in which the general practitioner of medicine stands to the specialist in appendichotomy, or bacteriology, or neuropathology.

But there is to be noted this pervasive difference: The general practitioner looks on the specialist not only as a source of information and direction, but as an *authority* in his own department, whose dicta cannot be combated except *by his peers.* His relation to the specialist is therefore that of unaffected open-mindedness and frank receptivity. But in the other case, a new element is introduced. We find not only the moderate and mutually respectful interest that attaches to every sincere business relationship, but a *religious enthusiasm.* Here we meet one of the strongest psychical characteristics of our race,—the sentiment of religion. It modifies, because it supersedes, all other influences.

This is peculiarly true of the clergyman. His religion, I mean *his* religion—the theological thought that forms the material of the peculiar religion that belongs to his individual personality—is his very life's breath. To transmute or deliberately orientate any large segment of it, implies not only overcoming the natural tendency to conservatism which is as much characteristic of the physician as of the priest, but it means relinquishing some of the essential elements—for, such they must seem at first—of his intellectual and moral make-up. Very naturally no true man does this hastily; and very naturally he is equally slow in appropriating antithetical views.

Here then, we touch the core of that world-wide

antagonism which from the earliest ages of philosophy has been the constant feature in the correlation of science and religion. The scientific mind, from the present point of view, may be said to be, from its very constitution, frankly and unreservedly open to new truth, no matter what radical modifications it may carry with it. The *perfect* scientific mind, which exists only as a psychical abstraction, is marked by *perfect* neutrality. Obviously, such a mind cannot be found, because it is impossible to rid oneself completely of a certain warp of the affections, and consequently of the will, which precludes the perfect adjustment of the judicial faculty.

The religious temper, on the contrary, is one that, broadly speaking, *has committed itself*, with all the ardor and abandon and resolute perseverance that belong to the religious sentiment, to the defence of a particular theological system. This defence calls into play, indeed, has its very seat, in the emotions or affections rather than in the reason. It has a direct and *almost* unimpeded influence on the will, which in turn reflects on the mind. Volition modifies and conditions, while it inspires the reason. It does this in both types, but in the religious it does it more habitually, and often *unrecognizedly*. The subject is not conscious of the creation of an intellectual twist at the dictate of the will taught by the affections.

In the scientific mind, while the same thing may

take place, for both are sharers in the psychical unity of mankind, yet the purely intellectual so consciously predominates over the emotional, and is characteristically so much less subject to such impulses, as to be practically different in kind. The religious mind, as thus described, must always suffer in comparison with the scientific from the standpoint of truth. If our theory of epistemology will admit the legitimacy of the decisions of the faculty called in Sir Wm. Hamilton's scheme the faculty of cognition, then we are bound to admit that the progressive character of all knowledge puts at serious disadvantage that type of mind which has committed itself irreformably to certain concepts in defiance of fresh information.

Now, of course, no religious man would admit for a moment that his way of looking at things has prejudiced in the slightest degree the power of his mind to assimilate new truth. But, as a matter of fact, the history of religion incontrovertibly proves that it does. It must be conceded, however, in fairness, that mere whimsical captiousness plays little part; it is largely an effect of self-deception and the unrecognized influence of volition. Still, the fact remains, that theologians, from the inherent nature of their rational activities, are unwisely—often disastrously sluggish in allowing their heads to instruct their hearts in matters with which the latter not only have no true concern, but on which, by a fatal inversion, the hearts insist they should instruct the heads.

Let me cite a representative illustration. A bishop of the American Church recently stated in an open letter (not in these words) that as regards higher criticism, the old traditional view was "good enough for him;" and for this reason: it had been the view of his fathers in office and of practically the whole Church for many centuries, and the *sentiment of reverence* which its venerability inspired infinitely outweighed the *rationality* of the science of Biblical criticism, as to which, he protested, he knew nothing and cared less. This attitude, which is simply that of illiterate obscurantism, is accurately emblematic of the religious type of mind. It has manifested itself on myriads of occasions since the dawn of the modern scientific era, and though it belongs to a crude stage of ethnic culture, yet every student of the evolution of human thought knows that it is bound to persist so long as religion is allowed to maintain positions antagonistic to the dictates of enlightened reason. All of which is in line with the profound remark made by Mr. Lowell, that "theology will find out in good time that there is no atheism at once so stupid and so harmful as the fancying God to be afraid of any knowledge with which He has enabled man to equip himself."

IV.

Now, while the attitude just sketched is surely that taken by many clergymen, it is perfectly evident that

things must not be permitted to remain *in statu quo*. Those who have the best interests of religion at heart are by no means prepared to capitulate in the struggle for the higher illumination of religious thought at the vociferous and blatant behests of superstition, prejudice, bigotry, infatuation, and above all—*ignorance*.

It is the noble privilege of every man who believes that God will give the ultimate victory to truth, to facilitate to his full ability the *spread of knowledge*. He must further the inculcation, especially among clergymen, of an appreciation of the intelligibility, the reliability and the fundamental religiousness of all true science. After a while, this will achieve two invaluable results. First, it will make it possible for the clerical mind to slough off, to rid itself of much effete matter that the expansion of the theological sciences has rendered acutely burdensome; *i. e.*, it will be possible for that type of mind, while maintaining with greater cogency and attraction than ever before, the fundamental verities of the Catholic faith, to discard many old interpretations thereof which to-day are utterly discredited and antiquated. And second, it will "popularize" (in the best sense) to a degree simply out of the question in the present state of clerical alienation, those vast stores of cultural influences that make so gloriously for the spread of social efficiency which are found in the new readings that have become ours during this marvellous Victorian era of the book

of nature, the book of the human mind and the Book of God!

V.

A word in conclusion on the particular thought this Introduction has endeavored to present.

The following pages were written by the busy rector of a large parish to meet, as I take it, precisely the conditions that have called forth the preceding remarks. The author of this book has tried to do his part in circulating certain ideas that he has found to be of inestimable value in his own thinking about the problems that have emerged since the youngest reader of these words was born. As compared with the stereotyped, obsolescent treatment of the Bible that was accepted outside the limited circle of specialists down to within the last two or three decades, the present system is an advance of such profound significance, that the two are nothing short of mutually destructive.

The old view is indeed exploded beyond hope of rehabilitation; and any modification of the new must be the result of discoveries so radical and remote and discordant with the whole tenor of discoveries up to the present, that their possibility, humanly speaking, is merely supposititious and hypothetical.

One can't help hoping that in the face of the present situation, we have seen nearly the end of that

buoyant, airy juvenility which presumes, without the slightest qualification, to pronounce judgments upon and usually to dismiss with easy nonchalance and almost incredible superciliousness, the results of the labors of scores of the best minds with which this nineteenth Christian century has been blessed. Is it strange if such "judgments" seem to scholars a trifle premature, not to say silly? Do not such people, in what all admit is a well-intentioned zeal for religion, deliberately lay themselves open to the charge of talking about things of which, in honest candor, they must be judged *ignorant?* We all know what is said when such things happen in other departments of learning that involve special preparation, and can the "critics of the critics" be surprised or hurt when the same is said of them?

VI.

It is pleasanter to turn from this picture of jarring ecclesiastics to the broad meads and inviting shades of academic groves where, if anywhere, through devotion to pure scientific truth and direct intercourse with each other, men should always be able to sink differences of belief in the higher unity of personal respect and warm affection. That spirit of fraternal deference and of admiration for noble qualities of soul which belongs peculiarly to our Christian religion, is the indissoluble bond that unites every one of us.

When each is striving in unimpeachable sincerity for "the truth as it is in Jesus," we are all within reach of that magic solvent—the Christian's love—which demolishes animosities and rears that fabric in the heavens toward which we are toiling ourselves and helping to direct others. In no spirit of mawkish religionism, but with profoundest reverence and aspiration, we can all pray the Whitsun collect:

"O God, who didst teach the hearts of thy faithful people, by sending to them the light of thy Holy Spirit; Grant us by the same spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and evermore to rejoice in his holy comfort; through the merits of Christ Jesus our Saviour, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD.

WEST CHESTER, PA.,
Whitsuntide, 1897.

To the Reader

The author regrets to be compelled to apologize for the frequent repetitions that occur in the following pages, but he will be forgiven when it is seen that they could not have been avoided without sacrificing the clearness of the argument to the demands of literary taste. Each chapter is complete in itself, and in order to preserve unity of subject and make evident the logical character of the argument, it was found necessary to use the same historical matter and forms of analysis in several of them.

Other shortcomings it will be more difficult to forgive, but even these, it is hoped, do not seriously interfere with the reasons presented for the existence of the Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.

I. G.

ERRATA.

Page 23. 8 lines from top, for "has" read "had."
" 31. 18 " " " " "xxiv" read "xxxiv."
" 39. 17 " " " " "8" read "15 and 16."
" 39. 17 " for quotation following "8" read "They in unto Noah into the Ark two and two of all flesh * * * * * * ohim commanded him."
Page 41. 7 lines from top, for "x" read "v"
" 57. 8 " " bottom, for "xxii" read "xxvii."
" 70. 5 " " " "provinces" read "provi-es."
Page 75. 13 lines from top, for "xxii" read "xvii."

Reasons for the Higher Criticism

CHAPTER I.

THE PROGRESS OF CRITICISM.

I.

Within the present generation there has been a revolution in the methods and results of Biblical Studies.

For centuries the scholars of the Church accepted, with little question, the tradition that the Pentateuch was written by Moses and the book of Joshua by Joshua. The highest English and American authorities so gave their verdict.

Continental Europe has made greater progress. The traditional theory of the origin of the Pentateuch and Joshua had not only been questioned, but, as multitudes of the best scholars in Orientalism believed, it had been disproved. The Higher Criticism had vindicated its claim that the Pentateuch and Joshua were parts of one book—the Hexateuch, which was the work of many writers during many ages; that it was a composite book, completed late in Hebrew life and composed of excerpta from four leading documents usually denominated by critics the Yahvistic, Elohistic, Deuteronomistic and the Priestly Documents.

When the Higher Criticism began to attract notice in this country, the discussion had grown old in Continental Europe. For one hundred and fifty years it had

been more or less prominent. From Astruc to Dillman and König it had passed through the phases of many theories with varying fortunes. Like all new sciences it needed numerous readjustments to meet the exigencies of freshly-discovered facts. For a long time it was a working hypothesis rather than a science. Attaining at last to the rank of a science, it was unfortunately claimed by the various schools of sceptics as an ally, and used by them to disprove the claims of the Hexateuch to historicity. This brought the whole subject of the Higher Criticism under suspicion in this country and in England, and it required not a little courage upon the part of W. Robertson Smith, T. K. Cheyne, and a few others, to insist that the principles of the new science of criticism were not only true, but that they were not of sceptical tendency or unfriendly to the supernatural in the Bible; but that, on the contrary, they and they alone could conserve successfully the revelations from God which it contained.

For the maintenance of these claims Dr. Smith (1878) was brought to trial, and deposed from his Aberdeen professorship in 1881. While under fire, he gave to the world his lectures upon "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church" and "The Prophets of Israel," which placed him in the van of the great conflict which immediately followed.

The success of these lectures was phenomenal, and their author found refuge in the University of Cambridge, where he was more than compensated for his lost honors by the greater liberality and broader spirit of English scholarship. He became the leader of a school of critics represented in the literary world by such names as Drs. Cheyne, Driver, Bruce, Sanday, Kirkpatrick, Horton, Ryle, Gore, and Duff, in Great Britain, and in America by Drs. Bacon, Briggs, Harper, Batten, Moore, Toy, Peters, Rogers, Gould, McCurdy, and a host of others.

II.

THE BIBLE IN THE HOUSE OF ITS FRIENDS.

The leading higher critics are not seeking to invalidate the claim that the Bible is the Word of God, but to give that claim a historic basis; in proof of which take the following testimonies:

Dr. W. Robertson Smith says, in his first edition of "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church:" "The great value of historical criticism is, that it makes the Old Testament more real to us. Christianity can never separate itself from its historical basis on the religion of Israel. The revelation of God in Christ cannot be divorced from the earlier revelation on which our Lord built. In all true religion the new rests upon the old.

"No one, then, to whom Christianity is a reality can safely acquiesce in an unreal conception of the Old Testament history; and in an age when all are interested in historical research, no apologetic can prevent thoughtful minds from drifting away from faith, if the historical study of the old covenant is condemned by the Church and left in the hands of unbelievers. * * *

"The history of Israel, when rightly studied, is the most vivid and real of all histories, and the proofs of God's working among his people of old may still be made one of the strongest evidences of Christianity. It was no blind chance, no mere human wisdom that shaped the growth of Israel's religion, and finally stamped it in these forms, now so strange to us, which preserved the living seed of the divine word till the fullness of time, when He was manifested who transformed the religion of Israel into a religion for all mankind."

Dr. S. R. Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, who is the first Englishman to give a completed historical analysis of the Old Testament, expresses himself to like effect:

"It is," he says, "impossible to doubt that the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings, the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated. Nor can it be doubted that the same conclusions upon any neutral field of investigation would have been accepted without hesitation by all conversant with the subject; they are only opposed in the present instance by some theologians because they are supposed to conflict with the requirements of the Christian faith. * * * The truth, however, is, that apprehensions of the character just indicated are unfounded. It is not the case that critical conclusions, such as those expressed in the present volume, are in conflict either with the Christian creeds or with the articles of the Christian faith. The conclusions affect not the *fact* of revelation but only its *form*. They help to determine the stages through which it passed, the different phases it assumed, and the process by which it was built up; they do not touch either the *authority* or the *inspiration* of the Old Testament. * * * Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament, it *presupposes* it; it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself; and it thus helps us to form a truer conception of the methods which it has pleased God to employ in revealing himself to his ancient people Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of himself in Jesus Christ."—*Introduction to The Literature of the Old Testament.* Pp. 10, 11, 13.

Dr. Charles A. Briggs claims that "the higher criticism of the Hexateuch vindicates its credibility. It strengthens its historical credibility (1) by showing that we have four parallel narratives instead of the single narra-

tive of the traditional theory, and (2) by tracing these narratives to their sources in the more ancient documents buried in them. It traces the development of the original Mosaic legislation to its successive stages of codification in accordance with the historical development of the Kingdom of God. It finds minor discrepancies and inaccuracies, such as are familiar to the students of the Gospels; but these increase the historic credibility of the teachings, as they show that the writers and compilers were true to their sources of information, even if they could not harmonize them in all respects."—*The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.* P. 3.

Dr. A. F. Kirkpatrick, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, and Canon of Ely Cathedral, says: "In all this diversity of many parts and many fashions there is a unity which binds together the various books [of the Bible] in a single whole. It is no artificial and external uniformity, but a natural and organic unity of life and spirit. Natural and undesigned, so far as the several authors of the many books collected in the Divine Library of the Old Testament are concerned, and, therefore, all the more attesting it as supernatural and designed. For, to the question, whence comes this living unity which pervades and animates this whole in all its divers parts? the Christian student can make but one answer—that it comes from God himself, who speaks through historian and prophet and psalmist. These books in all their variety are oracles of God; they are living oracles; and because the life which is their common characteristic was breathed into them by the Holy Ghost, *the giver of life,* we agree to call them INSPIRED."—*The Divine Library of the Old Testament.* Pp. 85, 86.

Dr. Alexander Balmain Bruce, Professor of Apologetics and of New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow, has won for himself a high

place in the confidence of the Christian world by his great works, "The Kingdom of God," "The Humiliation of Christ," "The Training of the Apostles," and "The Parabolic Teaching of Christ." To doubt the loyalty of Dr. Bruce to the Bible would be a logical impossibility, and yet, in his last book, "Apologetics; or, Christianity Defensively Stated," he works upon the basis of the higher criticism, and reaches the conclusion "that the Hebrew Scriptures *are a true light from heaven*," though "a light shining in a dark place until the dawn of day." P. 336.

Dr. W. Sanday, Dean Ireland Professor of Exegesis, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, Preacher at Whitehall, has won for himself a standing on the highest plane of Christian scholarship by his critical writings, especially by his defense of the Johannine authorship of the Gospel of St. John. He says: "My experience is that criticism leads straight up to the supernatural, and not away from it. I mean that if we let the Biblical writers speak for themselves, they tell us, in quite unequivocal terms, that they wrote by divine prompting. The spoken word of prophet and apostle was put in their mouths by God, and the written word was only the spoken word committed to writing, or on the same footing with it. If we take a plain and unsophisticated (though strictly critical) view of what the Biblical writers tell us, we shall accept them at their word. We are willing to explain them, to set them in their proper place in space and time, to give them their true position in the development of God's purposes, but we refuse to explain them away." He expresses deep regret and concern for the late action against Dr. Briggs. "It seems to us," he continues, "that a stand is taken in the wrong place; that one whom we know to be essentially moderate and essentially loyal is treated as if he were neither; that a veto has been practically put upon enquiries which have a certain future be-

fore them, and that a line of partition is drawn at a point which cannot be permanently tenable. With us (in England) the battle has been fought, and to all intents and purposes won. And the consequence is that English Christianity has a feeling of hopeful energy and expansiveness about it such as it has hardly had since the days of Milton."—*Arena* for December, 1893.

In substantial agreement with these experts in the "higher criticism" are such high authorities as Benjamin Wisner Bacon in "The Genesis of Genesis," Rev. C. H. Piepenbring in "Theology of the Old Testament," Rev. R. F. Horton in "Revelation and the Bible," and Rev. Jabez Thomas Sunderland in "The Bible: Its Origin, Growth and Character."

On page 262 of the last-named work we find these strong words: "The higher criticism of the Bible is at present under fire. Against the new light which scholarship has brought and is bringing to the interpretation of Scripture, many warning voices are raised. The brave, strong, true men who are leading this advance are often called hard names, denounced as destroyers, tried by ecclesiastical courts as heretics. From many quarters we are told that they are trying to destroy the Bible. But the exact opposite is true. They are trying to save the Bible."

I omit to mention many names of men of high repute in the Church who, like those above mentioned, are advocates, more or less pronounced, of the methods and legitimate results of the higher criticism, because I have shown with sufficient fullness that the higher critics, as a rule, are not seeking to destroy the Bible, but are seeking to show the methods of the divine procedure in its formation, and to indicate the historical sources from whence were drawn its divine teachings.

Not only are many leading orientalists in this country

and Europe supporters of reverent historical criticism, but not a few archæologists are in complete sympathy with its results. Among these are such men as Maspero, Lenormant, Fd. Delitzsch, Paul Haupt, Hugo Winkler, Ebers, Brugsch and Boscawen.

The work of the archæologists has, however, little bearing upon the special province of the higher critics. It is chiefly confirmatory of the doctrines of the conservative as against those of the radical critics concerning historicity. The archæologists of late have made many discoveries which render it probable that the Hebrews, like their civilized neighbors, possessed written historical records, and that many of their institutions ascribed to Moses were of great antiquity. They have shown that the story of Israel, from the call of Abraham to the conquest of Canaan, was in harmony with historical conditions. All this the conservative critics gladly accept. *But let it be noted that the archæologists have made no discovery which confirms the tradition that Moses wrote the Pentateuch.* The excavations at Pithom, for instance, show that a large quantity of bricks were made without straw during the assumed period of the oppression of the Hebrews, which gives a historic coloring to the story in Exodus v; but nothing has been discovered anywhere to make doubtful the contention of the critics that that story, *in its present form*, was written by a prophet of Judah about 800 B. C. No doubt this writer had before him the written records of many ancient traditions, and, it may be, contemporary chronicles, that he freely used in his compilation, but the authorship of such literature must ever remain unknown, except as to certain things said in the records to have been written by Moses.

The facts that are to determine the origin of the Pentateuch are purely literary, and are to be found mainly in the book itself and in the historical books from Joshua

to Ezra-Nehemiah. No possible discoveries of archæologists can alter these facts. Take, for instance, the statements of Leviticus-Numbers concerning the exclusive altar of sacrifice at the door of the Tabernacle contrasted with the statement, said to have been made by Moses, in Deuteronomy xii: 1-12, according to which no such *exclusive* altar existed, or was to exist, until new conditions should have arisen in the distant future. If archæologists should discover proof of the existence of the *exclusive* altar of sacrifice in the Wilderness, the literary forms would remain unaltered, and it would still be impossible to recognize the truth of both accounts. Even in such case archæologists would give no support to the tradition that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.

Whatever the testimony of the monuments, the Pentateuch, I repeat, must be judged by its literary conditions. Take another case. There are three recensions of the Ten Commandments, viz., Exodus xx and xxiv and Deuteronomy v. If some fortunate archæologist were to discover the broken tables of the law, he would furnish proof of the original "ten words," which, if the same as one of the three, would be satisfactory as to that one; but would throw no light upon the origin of the other two, except to demonstrate that they were not of Mosaic authorship. Thus we see how powerless archæologists are to solve the problems of Hexateuchal literature. But what they cannot do the Higher Critics easily accomplish by showing that the compilers of the Hexateuch made use of more or less independent traditions in their composite work. Conservative critics hail with pleasure all discoveries of archæologists that aid in solving the historical problems of the Bible; and, as we have just seen, archæologists, with a few exceptions, accept the literary analysis of the critics. Among the exceptions Professors Sayce and Hommel have made themselves conspicuous. While

both accept the composite theory in part, they complain that the critics carry their process of analysis much too far—"are too hair splitting," etc. But this is not their most important blunder, for they fail to discriminate *between the two great schools of critics*, though their distinctive differences are known to the whole literary world. They must know that the radical school of Wellhausen, on the subject of *historicity*, is antagonized by a host of conservative critics, who accept with it generally the analysis of the Hexateuch. As against the former their arguments are usually valid, but as against the latter they are irrelevant and unfair.

The attention of Professor Sayce has been called to this state of the question, but he persists in recognizing only one school of Higher Critics, and in denouncing all as alike radically destructive. This is the trick of a special pleader, and not the honest proceeding of a scientist. Professor Hommel may be more or less ignorant of the state of the question in England and America, but he fails to notice the conservative schools of Dillman and König as prominent factors in the controversy in Germany, which fact shows him to be quite as much of a special pleader as Sayce, and, therefore, equally unreliable. The higher criticism does not stand or fall with the historical theories of the school of Wellhausen. Its firm foundation is the literary analysis, which, as I have just indicated, is accepted by both conservatives and radicals. Archæologists may demolish the theories of the latter upon historicity, but the facts show that they have no weapon against the former. The analysis really confirms the historical character of the narrative portions of the ancient documents. Dr. Briggs, as quoted above, insists that the analysis gives us four witnesses to the truth instead of one, and while Professor Hommel rejects what he calls the minute hair-splitting of the critics, he says: "The existence

of this double narrative has been questioned, it is true, by many learned apologists, Professor Green being among the number, but without reason. Such an attitude was due to a natural reaction from the unfair use of these duplicate passages by modern critics of the Pentateuch in their efforts to discredit the historical credibility of the whole. For my part, I think we have a right to draw from them an exactly opposite inference. The more numerous the discrepancies in unimportant details between two independent accounts of an event, so much the higher is the probability that the event itself is historically true." While conservative critics can ask no more than this of him, they rightly protest that the accepted analysis of the Higher Critics being, as it is, the result of long and patient work of experts, shall not be pushed aside by one who, though he may be an expert in deciphering inscriptions, is certainly incompetent to produce a new analysis of the Hexateuch.

III.

THE ANCIENT TRADITIONS.

It is often asserted that a spirit of arrogant egotism has moved critical scholars to reject "the traditions of three thousand years," but every fairly informed student knows that no such spirit has animated them. It is true that they reject the idea that the mere duration of a tradition is *prima facie* evidence of its truth, but they treat it with due respect, and subject it scrupulously to the accepted methods of the science of history, insisting not only that it be old, but also that it be not contradictory to the age which it claims to represent.

Precisely here it is that modern critical scholarship takes issue with the traditions concerning the origin of the Hexateuch. These traditions are old, but not old

enough to be used in evidence. Had they arisen in the days of Moses or Joshua, or about that time, and had their existence received incidental notices, or been implied in contemporaneous records or traditions, they would have had reputable standing in the court of historical criticism. But the facts are otherwise. There are no early traces of any such traditions, nor is there, in all Pentateuchal literature, nor yet in that of the pre-exilic prophets, a hint that there existed in the days of Moses or immediately afterwards a book in form, structure and teaching answering to our Pentateuch.

That Moses wrote certain things contained in the Pentateuch is affirmed therein. See Exodus xvii: 14; xxiv: 4-27; Deuteronomy xxxi: 9; Joshua i: 7-8; viii: 31; Deuteronomy xxxi: 22; Numbers xxxiii: 2. From these we learn that Moses wrote a memorial against Amalech; that he wrote a "Book of the Covenant;" also a book of laws, a song, and a record of the journeys of the children of Israel. But there is nothing in all this to indicate that he compiled all these writings or gave to them the historic setting which they have in "The Pentateuch." The opposite is implied, and, but for the traditions in question, no one could doubt that the compilers of the Pentateuch made use of the reputed writings of Moses to put forth his teachings and to give his true historic position in the religion and government of Israel.

Until we reach the days of Ezra there is really nothing in the Scriptures that throws any light upon the origin of the Pentateuch. Even the books of Ezra and Nehemiah give nothing conclusive.

We learn from these two books (1) that in the year 536 B. C., Zerubbabel, together with the priests, builded the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt offerings thereon, "as it is written in the law of Moses, the man of God."—Ezra iii: 2. (See Deuteronomy xxvii: 5, 6.)

(2) We learn that the foundation of the second temple was laid in the same year, and that it was dedicated twenty years after with an elaborate ritual, the prophets Haggai and Zachariah being present; and we are further told that "all was done according to the *Law of Moses.*"

(3) We learn that in the year 458 B. C., fifty-eight years after the dedication of the Temple, Ezra, "a ready scribe in the Law," went up to Jerusalem armed with certain powers by the King of Babylon, to reform what he should find amiss; but he seems to have done little more than separate the priests and people from their "strange wives." Ezra does not appear again until thirteen years after, when, during the first visit of Nehemiah, he "brought the 'Book of the Law of Moses,' which the Lord commanded Israel, and from a pulpit of wood made for the purpose," read it to the standing multitude; and that certain helpers caused the people to understand the reading. Nehemiah viii: 1-18.

Now, although the people had been worshipping in their restored Temple for more than seventy-two years, under the leadership of priests and prophets, and according to a law book which they called "The Law of Moses, the Man of God" (Ezra iii: 2) and "The Book of Moses" (Ezra vi: 18), yet they are found by Ezra to be totally ignorant of the true "Book of the Law of Moses," which he brought from Babylon.

This new book contained things that caused the people such sorrow, they could only be comforted by the earnest persuasions of the Levites.

But the ordinance that seems to have reconciled them to the new conditions imposed by this "Book of the Law of Moses" was the law for the Feast of Tabernacles (Nehemiah viii: 14-17), of which the "Book of Moses" that they had accepted with the sanction of prophets and priests for more than ninety years, was without a trace!

Something very serious had happened. The long-honored "Law of Moses," which seems to have been the composite work of the Yahvist, the Elohist, and the Deuteronomist, by the new movement had been enlarged by the addition of a code of Priestly Laws, which were partly the development of the Law of Ezekiel (xliv: 12-16), and partly a compilation of ancient Temple usages and other priestly traditions, but which were believed by Ezra, or whoever made the codification, to have been authorized by Moses. This phase of the subject will be treated more fully later on; the above statement is made now merely to show that, so far as the canonical books are concerned, we are left in doubt as to the origin of the Pentateuch.

Turning from the canonical books to the later traditions, we find nothing reliable, but much that is absurd and unhistorical. The story that Ezra was inspired to rewrite the Law of Moses, and many other sacred books, after the destruction of the Temple, as given in the Apocrypha (II. Esdras xiv: 1), is unworthy of serious consideration, because that legend arose about five hundred years after Ezra, and is contradictory to the historical statements of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The tradition that the canon of Scriptures was settled by Ezra with the aid of the Great Synagogue is also utterly without historical support. "There is no mention of the Great Synagogue" in the writings of either Josephus or Philo. There is no allusion to it even in the Apocrypha, nor is there a single sentence in Nehemiah that, according to any literal interpretation, would lead a reader to suppose that Ezra founded an important deliberative assembly, or even a religious college or synod.

"The earliest evidence, therefore, is that supplied by the Mishnic treatise, *Pirqe Aboth*, which may have been committed to writing in the second or third century,

A. D. The remainder of the Talmudic evidence is Gamara, and not Mishna, and, therefore, was probably not committed to writing earlier than the sixth or seventh century, A. D. There is no evidence from any literary source whatever nearer to the historical period to which the Great Synagogue is assigned than *Pirqe Aboth;* and all that the testimony of *Pirqe Aboth* amounts to is, that in the chain of traditions from Moses to the second century before Christ, the Great Synagogue intervened between the Prophets and 'the Pairs' of Scribes, and that Simeon the Just is its last surviving member."—*The Canon of the Old Testament*, by H. E. Ryle, p. 267.

In this able work the whole subject of the legend of Ezra and the books of Scripture is fully presented in Excursus A, pp. 240-272.

IV.

THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST.

It is insisted by traditionalists that the failure of the testimony of the canonical books and of tradition to settle, affirmatively, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is not fatal, for the testimony of Christ is conclusive, and "you must choose between Christ and criticism." But this by no means follows. The Pentateuch was known as "the Law" and "The Law of Moses" in the popular speech and literature of the day; and whatever Christ may have known of the history of its composition, He would naturally use the accepted name. To have done otherwise would have defeated his object. *The critical aspects of the case were not involved in anything He said or did, and, therefore, could have no relation to the subject.*

"The old argument against the higher criticism, from the fact that Jesus used the Old Testament, and which

assumes that if Moses had not written the Pentateuch, and David the Psalms, and Solomon Ecclesiastes—which takes for granted that if the traditional view that if the origin and composition of the Hebrew literature had not been true, Christ would have told his disciples so—is self-evidently worthless. The principle of the Incarnation involves an accommodation of the Eternal to temporal conditions; and it was clearly beyond even the power of Divinity, in three short years, to sweep the Jewish mind clear of all errors and superstitions. The reserve of Christ in dealing with an age at all points so immeasurably below him is one of the notes of his surpassing greatness. * * * He was, in fact, under the necessity of introducing his original and absolute teaching in the current forms of thought, which were frequently unsatisfactory."—*The Christ of To-Day.* Gordon. Pp. 156, 157.

So we see that Christ leaves the whole question of the origin of the Pentateuch open, and the reverent critic may enter the field without fearing lest he be trespassing upon forbidden ground. He is, therefore, as free to discuss the history of the first Jewish canon of Scripture as is the Christian geologist to discuss the origin of the world, undeterred by the book of Genesis. Liberated from the misleading and paralyzing influences of tradition, we, therefore, seek by critical methods the sources of the Hexateuch, the process of its composition, and the significance of its inspiration.

CHAPTER II.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE HEXATEUCH.

The literary form of the books of the Hexateuch demands critical readjustment, the radical nature of which will appear when we consider a few of the problems that force themselves upon our attention.

(1) There are two accounts of creation given in Genesis i-ii: 4a, and ii: 4b-25. In the first, God is called Elohim, and in the second Yahweh Elohim. According to the first, man is created after all the animals, while according to the second he is made before them,—the order of creation being inverted.

(2) There are varying statements in the account of the Deluge as to the beasts to be taken into the Ark (vii). In verse 2 Noah is directed to take of every clean beast, "by sevens, male and his female, and of the beasts that are not clean by two, male and his female, * * * and Noah did according to all that Yahweh commanded him." But, according to verse 8, "Of clean beasts and of beasts that are not clean * * * there went in two and two unto Noah into the Ark, the male and the female, as Elohim had commanded Noah."

(3) There are different statements as to the duration of the Flood. In chapter vii: 11 it is said that "In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened." And in viii: 13-16, we are told "that it came to pass, in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the

waters were dried from off the earth; and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry. And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried. And Elohim spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee." This makes the duration of the flood to have been one year; whereas, its duration, according to the sections connected with the name of Yahweh, was much less—vii: 12: "It rained forty days and forty nights;" verse 17: "The flood was upon the earth forty days." Viii: 10: After sending out the dove, Noah remained other seven days; when he sent the dove again and when she returned, bringing the olive leaf (verse 11), he staid yet other seven days. Then, he sent forth the dove for the last time. Verse 20: "And Noah buildeth an altar unto Yahweh," etc. The number of days here given from the beginning of the rain to the drying of the earth is only one hundred and one.

(4) Three versions are given in Genesis of the story of wife denial by Abraham and Isaac. (1) By Abraham in Egypt, (2) by him in Gerar, and (3) by Isaac in Gerar eighty years after. These versions are all cast in the same mould. Did these events so repeat themselves or are they different versions of one experience?

(5) In the story of Joseph and his brethern there are two widely differing statements. (1) Joseph is sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver (xxxvii: 28), who, in turn, sold him in Egypt (xxxix: 1). (2) The Midianites drew Joseph from the pit into which his brethren had put him, and, carrying him to Egypt, sold him to Potiphar (xxxvii: 36).

(6) The revelation of the divine name of Yahweh to Moses (1) at the burning bush (iii: 14); (2) a revelation in Egypt, like the original one (vi: 3).

(7) The two widely different recensions of the Commandments: (1) Exodus xx: 1-17, well-known to the Church; (2) xxxiv: 10-28, almost unknown. The first recension is said to have been spoken by Elohim from the Mount, and, according to Deuteronomy, it contained the Commandments that were written by God upon tables of stone (Deuteronomy x: 7-22). But the latter was spoken to Moses, after the breaking of the first tables (as a repetition of the words of that table, xxxi: 1), and these Moses was to write upon tables prepared by him (xxxiv: 27, 28). "And Yahweh said unto Moses, Write then these words (xxxiv: 10-26), for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel; and he was with Yahweh forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables of the covenant the ten commandments." All former attempts to harmonize these conflicting facts with the theory of the Mosaic authorship of both having failed, the Higher Criticism unhesitatingly declares that in these two chapters we have extracts from two different literary sources, xx: 1-21 being from the Elohistic and xxxiv: 1-28 from the Yahvistic documents.

The responsibility for this confusion rests upon the compiler, who has introduced widely different traditions of the Ten Commandments, the substance of the former being religious and ethical, and that of the latter mainly religious, secular and ceremonial. To make Moses the author of both these accounts is impossible. (See a third version in Deuteronomy v, with variations from that in Exodus xx.)

(8) The laws for altars and worship proclaimed at Sinai cannot be reconciled with the statement that Moses formulated them then and there, and that he wrote the account of their institution as we have it. In xx: 24-25: "An altar shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice

thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen; in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee. If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."

Exodus xxvii: 1: "Thou shalt make an altar of shittim wood, five cubits long and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare; and the height thereof shall be three cubits," etc. Exodus xl: 6: "Thou shalt set the altar of the burnt offerings before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation." Leviticus xvii: 1-9, makes this altar *exclusive;* sacrifices could be offered upon it only, and, according to Numbers iii: 1-10, only Aaron and his sons could make the offerings.

(9) Genesis xxxviii has no connection with the context before or after it, being a story of Judah and certain of his impurities, etc., which was thrust into the story of Joseph, thus separating the statement that the Midianites sold Joseph in Egypt, xxxvii: 36, from the statement, xxxix: 1, that the Ishmaelites did it.

(10) Exodus xxv-xxx, containing the first section of the tabernacle legislation, is out of place, having been arbitrarily put between the account of the first ascent of Moses into the Mount, xxiv, and his return with the tables of stone, xxxii. Clearly the original form of the record was as follows: "And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua; and Moses went up into the Mount of God (xxiv: 13), and Moses was in the Mount of God forty days and forty nights (verse 18). And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the Mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron and said unto him: Up, make us gods which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of

him" (xxxii: 1). From this point on to xxxiv: 28 is given the history of the golden calf; the punishment of the people for their idolatry; the second ascent of Moses with tables of stone, prepared by him, his writing thereon, the Ten Commandments of the covenant, and his return and publication of them as contained in xxxiv: 12-27. The two sections of the tabernacle legislation, xxv-xxx and xxxv-xl, must have been published after the transactions concerning the tables of stone, and their true place in the narrative would have been together at the end of the book. As it is, we see plainly the marks of the compositor.

(11) From the death of Moses to the reign of King Josiah, a period of six hundred years, nothing is said of the law of one altar in the historical books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. The publication of the book of Deuteronomy 621 B. C. is the first appearance of such a law outside of the Hexateuch. The prophets and kings are alike ignorant of its existence, and personally, by example, encourage worship in the sacred places. Samuel, David and Solomon offer sacrifices in many places. Elijah complains that the enemies of Yahweh had thrown down his altars. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah give no hint of the existence of the law of one exclusive altar. It is only after the reign of Josiah, who established the one altar, that we find in the closing chapters of II Kings indications of a centralized worship.

(12) Following this inexplicable condition of the Jewish literature, if the traditional theory that Moses wrote the Pentateuch is accepted, comes the yet stranger fact that there is no notice, outside of the Pentateuch, of the exclusive priesthood of Aaron and his sons until Ezekiel. To him is due the law excluding the Levites from the priesthood in punishment for their defection before the exile, xliv: 12-16. Of the influence of Ezekiel's

law in developing the laws of the Aaronic priesthood, I will speak when I come to consider the priests' code.

(13) It is stated in the book of Joshua that the whole land had been conquered before Joshua's death. But, in the first part of the book of Judges, we find that new military combinations had to be made to enable the various tribes to subdue their enemies and secure possession of their allotments. The complete subjugation of the land did not take place until the days of David.

The above is a brief outline of a few of the many literary phenomena in the Hexateuch demanding explanation. All efforts to do this upon the assumption that Moses wrote the Pentateuch have been sad failures. The conditions require a new treatment which the Higher Criticism claims to be able to give successfully. It shows that the discrepancies and variations, together with misplacement of much of the text, arose mainly from efforts to create a composite work by joining together parts of four documents. These documents were written in different places, at widely-separated periods, and for various purposes. To demonstrate this composite character of the Hexateuch, the critics analyze it into its older sources by collecting the scattered parts of the documents from their composite setting and restoring the original documents more or less completely to their proper form. Examples of this critical analysis I now proceed to give.

MEADVILLE

CHAPTER III.

SOME EXAMPLES OF THE ANALYSIS.

PRIESTS' CODE, OR P.

GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

Creation of Heaven and Earth.

1 In the beginning Elohim created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of Elohim moved upon the face of the waters.

3 And Elohim said, Let there be light: and there was light.

4 And Elohim saw the light, that it was good: and Elohim divided the light from the darkness.

5 And Elohim called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

6 And Elohim said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

YAHVIST, OR J.

GENESIS.

CHAPTER II.

4 In the day that Yahweh Elohim made the earth and the heavens.

5 And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for Yahweh Elohim had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground.

6 But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

7 And Yahweh Elohim formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

8 And Yahweh Elohim planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

9 And out of the ground made Yahweh Elohim to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the

7 And Elohim made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so.

8 And Elohim called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

9 And Elohim said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so.

10 And Elohim called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and Elohim saw that it was good.

11 And Elohim said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: and it was so.

12 And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind: and Elohim saw that it was good.

13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.

14 And Elohim said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:

midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

10 And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.

11 The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold.

12 And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone.

13 And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia.

14 And the name of the third river is Hidekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.

15 And Yahweh Elohim took the man, and put him in the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

16 And Yahweh Elohim commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat:

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

18 And Yahweh Elohim said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.

19 And out of the ground Yahweh Elohim formed every

15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And Elohim made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also.

17 And Elohim set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.

18 And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and Elohim saw that it was good.

19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20 And Elohim said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.

21 And Elohim created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and Elohim saw that it was good.

22 And Elohim blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply and fill the waters in the seas, and let the fowl multiply in earth.

23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

24 And Elohim said, Let the earth bring forth the living beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.

20 And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.

21 And Yahweh Elohim caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof.

22 And the rib, which Yahweh Elohim had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.

23 And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.

24 Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.

25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.

CHAPTER III.

1 Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which Yahweh Elohim had made. And he said unto

creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

25 And Elohim made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and Elohim saw that it was good.

26 And Elohim said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

27 So Elohim created man in his own image, in the image of Elohim created he him: male and female created he them.

28 And Elohim blessed them, and Elohim said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

29 And Elohim said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

the woman, Yea, hath Elohim said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

2 And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:

3 But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, Elohim hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

4 And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

5 For Elohim doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Elohims, knowing good and evil.

6 And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.

8 And they heard the voice of Yahweh Elohim walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of Yahweh Elohim

30 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat: and it was so.

31 And Elohim saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

CHAPTER II.

1 Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.

2 And on the seventh day Elohim ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.

3 And Elohim blessed the seventh day and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which Elohim created and made.

4 These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created.

amongst the trees of the garden.

9 And Yahweh Elohim called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?

10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.

11 And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee thou shouldest not eat?

12 And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

13 And Yahweh Elohim said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

14 And Yahweh Elohim said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.

And so on to verse 24.

A critical examination discloses marked differences in these accounts of the creation. The first (the Priestly account) names the creator Elohim, and is almost free form anthropomorphic representations of God. It represents Elohim as doing all things spontaneously, by the power of his word. He speaks and it is done. He commands and it stands fast. He says, "Let there be light and there is light," "Let there be a firmament," etc., "Let

the earth bring forth," etc., "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness," etc.

It is after this sublime fashion that the "Priests' Code" represents God as creating the universe. It is far above and outside of all human analogies; and is in harmony with the highest ideal of theism that the most spiritual civilization has yet attained. The Infinite and Omniscient One is emphasized in it as he is nowhere else in the early religious literature of the world.

The second (the Jahvistic) account is in all these respects different, and so radically different that it is impossible, on any principle of criticism, to assign it to the same writer. In the first place, it begins without a hint that an account of creation had just been given covering six days of divine work, an account which this second narrative is, in a measure, to duplicate and expand; but it begins *ab initio*. "In the day that YAHWEH ELOHIM made the earth and the heavens."

In the second place, the order of creation is different from the Priestly account, in which man was created after all other animals; while in this, the Yahvistic document, he is created before them, and the woman is created last, because there is found no helpmeet for man among them.

In the third place, the creation proceeds after a purely anthropomorphic method, its processes being all mechanical. Yahweh forms man of the dust of the ground, and breathes into his nostrils the breath of life. He plants a garden and places man in it, giving him orders concerning his food. He puts him into a deep sleep, and, taking a rib from his side, he makes of it a woman and brings her to the man.

He walks in the garden in the cool of the day and calls the hiding Adam and Eve to answer for their transgression. He arraigns them before him after the fashion of a judge, and gives them formal trial, and pronounces

judgment of condemnation upon them; and drives them from the garden, placing guards to prevent their return. A more complete anthropomorphic representation of God it would be hard to find in any literature, and a more striking contrast with the first (Priests' Code) account could not easily be imagined. All this, taken in connection with the sudden introduction of the special divine name, Yahweh, the startling change of style, the evident deflection of purpose and change of literary plan, show conclusively the work of a different hand from that which gave the Priestly account.

Following on, we find in the history of the Flood the same general feature of difference, in two accounts there joined into one.

J.

GENESIS VII, 1-5.

1 And Yahweh said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female.

3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

P.

GENESIS VII, 13-16.

13 In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark.

14 They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, and every bird of every sort.

15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.

16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as Elohim had commanded him.

5 And Noah did according unto all that Yahweh commanded him.

The first (Yahvistic) says that Yahweh commanded Noah to take into the ark clean beasts by sevens, male and female, and beasts that were not clean by twos, the male and his female; whereas the second (Priests' Code) says that two of every kind went in unto Noah in the ark. "Two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life," and "they that went in were male and female of all flesh, as Elohim had commanded him," taking no notice of any distinction between clean and unclean beasts. The first account says that Noah did as Yahweh commanded him, and the second that he did what Elohim commanded him. This literary condition could have arisen only in one way, to wit: by combining into one the products of two different authors.

When we reach the fifteenth chapter of the book of Genesis we begin to meet the traces of another document in which the word Elohim is used for God, but in general style and form is very different from the "Priests' Code," and is closely akin to the Jahvistic document. When we reach the xxxvii chapter, this document takes notable place in the account of Joseph's trials and his deportation to Egypt.

The two accounts which follow have been ingeniously mingled, so as to make one story, but can easily be restored to their original form, and, in spite of some omissions, made necessary by the work of joining them, will appear in their ancient integrity.

J.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

13 And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here am I.

14 And he said to him, Go, I pray thee, see whether it will be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.

15 And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou?

16 And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed their flocks.

17 And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.

18 And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him.

19 And they said one to another, Behold, this dreamer cometh.

20 Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him; and we shall see what will become of his dreams.

E.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

22 And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, but cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again.

23 And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stripped Joseph out of his coat, his coat of many colours that was on him;

24 And they took him, and cast him into a pit; and the pit was empty, there was no water in it.

25 And they sat down to eat bread:

* * * * * * * * *

28 Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit. * * *

29 And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.

30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child is not; and I, whither shall I go?

36 And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard.

21 And Reuben heard it, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, Let us not kill him.

25 * * * And they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.

26 And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood?

27 Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother and our flesh: and his brethren were content.

28 * * * And sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt.

31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood;

32 And they sent the coat of many colours, and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.

33 And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces.

34 And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth

upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him.

Chapter xxxviii, concerning Judah and his family and their impurities, has been here thrust in by a compositor to separate the thirty-sixth verse of chapter xxxvii from the first verse of chapter xxxix.

"And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither."

In E. the first part of the story has been omitted and J.'s account preferred, but what is left is perfectly consistent. Reuben, seeking to deliver Joseph, had him put into a pit, and, while his brethren were eating, the Midianites stole him from the pit, and carried him to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar.

In J., Reuben advised his brethren not to kill Joseph, and Judah counselled them to sell him to a passing company of Ishmaelites; so they sold him for twenty pieces of silver, and the Ishmaelites brought him to Egypt and sold him to an Egyptian.

These accounts are so plainly from different sources that no comment is needed; but there is one thing to be noted that throws much light upon the work of the compiler, to wit: He placed J.'s account of the sale of Joseph in Egypt by the Ishmaelites at the beginning of chapter xxxix, thus putting a whole chapter between that and E.'s statement at the close of chapter xxxvii, that the Midianites sold him, after having carried him to Egypt, to Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's guard.

Exodus.

E.

CHAP. XXXIII, 7-17.

7 And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the congregation. And it came to pass, that every one which sought the Lord went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp.

8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tabernacle, that all the people rose up, and stood every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the tabernacle.

9 And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord talked with Moses.

10 And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door; and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man in his tent door.

11 And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp; but his

J.

CHAP. XXXIII, 18-23.

18 And he said, I beseech thee, show me thy glory.

19 And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.

20 And he said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live.

21 And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock.

22 And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by;

23 And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen.

P.

CHAP. XXXIV, 29-35.

29 And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount Sinai with the two tables of testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him.

30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him.

31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him; and Moses talked with them.

32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh and he gave them in commandment all that the Lord had spoken with him in mount Sinai.

33 And till Moses had done speaking with them, he put a vail on his face.

34 But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the vail off, until he came out. And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that

servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.

which he was commanded.

35 And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone; and Moses put the vail upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

We have here three representations of the interviews of Moses with Jehovah, which are so manifestly different as to compel the conviction that they were taken from different sources. According to E., Moses saw God face to face; whereas, according to J., God refused to allow Moses to see his face, because no man could see his face and live (verse 20). P. was evidently inspired by E. with the idea that Moses saw God face to face, and, therefore, went before the Lord unveiled. These different representations are grouped in chapters xxxiii and xxxiv, a fact that makes the composite character of the work the more evident.

Leviticus.

It is not convenient to give quotations from the book of Leviticus to illustrate its composite character, for the reason that the whole book is made up of three sections. Chapters i-xvi are from P.; chapters xvii-xxvi are from "The Law of Holiness," as seemingly recodified by P., and chapter xxii is from P.

Of the "Law of Holiness," Canon Driver thus speaks:

"We arrive here at a group of chapters which stand by themselves in P. While in general form and scope appertaining to P., they differ from the main body of P. by the presence of a *foreign element*, which manifests itself partly in style and phraseology, partly in the motives which here become prominent. The phenomena

which the chapters present are explained by the supposition that an independent, and in all probability an older body of legislation, lies at the basis of chapters xvii-xxvi, which has been incorporated in P. * * *

"The elements thus united with P. are distinguished from it, partly by the predominance of certain expressions, never or very rarely found in P. (or indeed in the Hexateuch generally); partly in the predominance given to particular principles and motives. The laws themselves have also (in certain instances) been provided with parenetic framework in a manner unlike that of P." (*Introduction*, etc., pp. 43, 44. See also pp. 45, 46 for a list of phrases which characterize the code of Holiness, as distinguished from the great body of the "Priests' Code.")

Numbers.

TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE SPIES.

P.	J. and E.
CHAPTER XIV.	CHAPTER XIV.
26 And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,	20 And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word:
27 How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, which murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me.	21 But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord.
28 Say unto them, As truly as I live, saith the Lord, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you:	22 Because all those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles, which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice;
29 Your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and up-	23 Surely they shall see not the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it:

ward, which have murmured against me.

30 Doubtless ye shall not come into the land concerning which I sware to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

24 But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it.

In P.'s account Joshua and Caleb are always united, and Aaron is mentioned several times as acting with Moses; and in the portion quoted above, Joshua and Caleb are to come into the land of promise as a reward for their faithfulness; but in J., E., Caleb appears and acts alone; Moses is always named without Aaron; and it is Caleb only who is to be preserved alive and to be rewarded in the land of promise. A study of the whole account shows most conclusively that two narratives, taken from different sources, have been compacted into one story.

Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

NUMBERS. CHAPTER XVI.

P.

1 Now Korah the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi.

2 Two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown.

3 And they gathered themselves together against Moses, and against Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then

J. E.

1 Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Pelith, sons of Reuben, took men.

2 And they rose up before Moses with certain of the children of Israel.

12 And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab; which said, We will not come up:

13 Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the

lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?

4 And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face:

5 And he spake unto Korah, and unto all his company, saying, Even to-morrow the Lord will shew who are his, and who is holy, and will cause him to come near unto him: even him whom he hath chosen will he cause to come near unto him.

6 This do: Take your censers, Korah, and all his company;

7 And put fire therein, and put incense in them before the Lord to-morrow: and it shall be, that the man whom the Lord doth choose, he shall be holy: ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.

8 And Moses said unto Korah, Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi,

9 Seemeth it but a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto them?

10 And he hath brought thee near to him, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee: and seek ye the priesthood also?

11 For which cause, both thou and all thy company are gathered together against the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?

14 Moreover, thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey, or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? we will not come up.

15 And Moses was very wroth, and said unto the Lord, Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them.

25 And Moses rose up, and went unto Dathan and Abiram; and the elders of Israel followed him.

26 And he spake unto the congregation, saying, depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins.

27 So they gat up * * * from Dathan, and Abiram, on every side, and Dathan and Abiram came out, and stood in the door of their tents, and their wives, and their sons, and their little children.

28 And Moses said, Hereby ye shall know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works; (for I have not done them of mine own mind;)

29 If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the Lord hath not sent me.

Lord: and what is Aaron, that ye murmur against him?

16 And Moses said unto Korah; Be thou and all thy company before the Lord, thou, and they, and Aaron, tomorrow:

17 And take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the Lord every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer.

18 And they took every man his censer, and put fire in them, and laid incense thereon, and stood in the door of the tabernacle of the congregation with Moses and Aaron.

19 And Korah gathered all the congregation against them unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the glory of the Lord appeared unto all the congregation.

20 And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, * * * * * * * * *

35 And there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense.

30 But if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, and they go down quick into the pit, then ye shall understand that these men have provoked the Lord.

31 And it came to pass, as he had made an end of speaking all these words, that the ground clave asunder that was under them:

32 And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto them and all their goods.

33 They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them: and they perished from among the congregation:

34 And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them: for they said, Lest the earth swallow us up also.

Here we have a composite account of two rebellions. The first was inspired by ecclesiastical, and the second by political, jealousies. The first was led by Korah, a Levite, and two hundred and fifty princes, against Moses and Aaron, saying, "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them; wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of

the Lord." The second was led by Dathan and Abiram, and On, sons of Reuben, saying to Moses, "Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself also a prince over us? Moreover, thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey, or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?"

Korah and his two hundred and fifty princes were put to the test of the censers (verses 6 and 7) and were destroyed by fire from the Lord at the door of the Tabernacle (verse 35). Dathan and Abiram with all their company were engulfed in the earth as they stood in the doors of their tents (verses 31-34).

Joshua.

THE MONUMENTAL STONES.

CHAPTER IV.

4 Then Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man:

5 And Joshua said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the Lord your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel:

6 That this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones?

7 Then ye shall answer them, That the waters of Jor-

CHAPTER IV.

1 And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over Jordan, that the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying,

2 Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man.

3 And command ye them, saying, Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night.

8 And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded,

dan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off; and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever.

9 And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood: and they are there unto this day.

and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the Lord spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, and carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged and laid them down there.

20 And those twelve stones, which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua pitch in Gilgal.

21 And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones?

22 Then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land.

23 For the Lord your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the Lord your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over:

24 That all the people of the earth might know that the hand of the Lord, that it is mighty: that ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.

We have here one command to gather from the river, "where the priests' feet stood firm," twelve stones, by twelve men, one from each tribe, which stones were to be carried over the river and left in the lodging place; but with these stones, according to the composite account,

two monuments were built, one in the midst of the river and one in Gilgal. In each case the reasons given for the memorial stones are the same, but at the same time different, verses 6, 7; verses 21-24. The combination of two accounts in the formation of one story is evident.

Criticism reveals that the book of Joshua is composite, and that it is constituted mainly of excerpts from J., E. and P., with some from other sources, not yet definitely determined; and also that many very important additions and touches were made by a redactor, who wrote in the spirit and style of the author of Deuteronomy.

In the meantime let it be noted that what we have seen was in accordance with the literary usage of the ancient world. Prof. Sayce says: "The place occupied by the Pentateuch in the sacred literature of Israel was substantially occupied by the so-called Book of the Dead in the sacred literature of Egypt, as well as by the religious hymns and the ritual of which they formed a part in the sacred literature of Babylonia. * * * The composite character of the Pentateuch, therefore, is only what the study of similar contemporaneous literature, brought to light by modern research, would lead us to expect. The Higher Criticism has thus far been justified in its literary analysis of the Books of Moses." However much Prof. Sayce may differ from the higher critics as to the time and personnel of the work of composing the Pentateuch, he has no doubt that the composite method was used. It was substantially the literary method of all the East. The old was not digested and reproduced in substance, but was taken in its original form and compacted with excerpta from other writings, new or old, as the case might be. The Hexateuch was not the only outcome of this process, but the historical books, Judges, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles were so made.

Some of the books of prophecy also, notably Isaiah

and Daniel, were subjected to like handling, and it is difficult to find any book of the Old Testament that does not show some of the marks of the process.

Indeed, the use of the composite method in literature was singularly persistent. It outlived the ancients, and was actively employed long after the apostolic age. It survived, we know, to late in the second century of our era, when Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, produced the Diatessaron by compiling the four Evangelists into a single gospel in precisely the same way that the Hexateuch was produced.

This Diatessaron played an important part in the history of a number of the Syrian churches in the fifth century, for it came near supplanting the separate gospels in the great dioceses of that country.

"It must be borne in mind," says Dr. Moore, of Andover, "that this patchwork was made, not of indifferent historical writings, but of the sacred books of the Christian Church; that it was meant to take the place of the gospels; that it accomplished its end so successfully that it almost completely superseded the separate gospels in the public use of a considerable part of the Syrian churches; that it was, apparently, only under influence from without that it was banished from the use of these churches in the fifth century. Aphraates and Ephraim are acquainted, indeed, with the separate gospels; but it is certainly within the bounds of possibility that, if the Syrian church had been left to itself, without contact with the greater church to the West, the knowledge of the separate gospels might in the end have been lost, even among the learned. The parallel to the history of the Pentateuch would then have been complete." And to this we may justly add that if Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, who suppressed the Diatessaron, instead of having in his possession the original gospels, had disentangled them

from their composite arrangement in the Diatessaron and restored them to their separate forms, he would have been in exact parallel with the modern Higher Critics, who, like him, are certainly not destroyers of, but in as high a sense, if not in so complete a result, restorers of the word of God.

In thus restoring the prophetical and priestly documents, the Higher Critics have performed a work for which the Christian and Jewish world may well be thankful.

Now all things are made to fall into their right places and to appear in their true historic order; and now the development of Revelation, under divine guidance, becomes a movement in the rising inflection, in harmony with the historic unfolding of human intelligence and the enlargement of spiritual experiences.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUR ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

By what may be called unanimous agreement of critical scholars, the four principal documents used by the compilers of the Hexateuch are the Yahvistic, the Elohistic, the Deuteronomic and the Priests' Code. It is contended by experts that these documents bear such distinctive marks that the parts of each used in the composite work can be recognized and separated from their present setting. The styles of the Yahvistic and Elohistic documents are as different from that of the Priests' Code as is Macaulay's from Carlyle's; and though the difference between the styles of the Yahvist and Elohist is not so manifest, yet, one skilled in such matters can sufficiently recognize their peculiarities to separate them with general satisfaction.

But the analysis is not wholly dependent upon style. Other distinctive marks appear in the frequent use of certain technical words and set phrases and of the names of particular persons associated usually with official duties. For instance, the Yahvist seldom mentions Aaron in connection with Moses, whereas the author of the Priests' Code seldom fails to do so. The analysis also receives much help from the trend of thought and doctrine in association with the characteristic styles.

Having found that a writer throughout the book of Genesis uses the word Yahweh in connection with certain ethical teachings, we can easily recognize his work as he appears in the other books, in which the same features are conspicuous. The author of the Priests' Code

is distinctly ecclesiastical. He loves to give long lists of minute regulations of religious ceremonies, and revels in chronology and genealogy, but he has little to say on really ethical and religious matters, *apart from ceremonial observances.*

The analysis is also aided by the historical facts given in the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. Such statements determine much as to the time and circumstances in which laws and usages became prominent that were attributed to Moses in the Pentateuch, but which they incidentally show to have had another and a much later origin.

THE YAHVIST.

The author of the Yahvistic document is generally believed by critics to have been a prophet of Judah, who wrote about the year 800 B. C. He was not, in the modern sense, a historian, but a great teacher of religion and morals, who made use of the traditions and literary records of his people to illustrate his inspired conceptions of God's nature and government, as also his purposes concerning his chosen people. In the arrangement of his materials he followed the accepted chronology, his aim being to instruct his countrymen, that he might save them from the influence of the heathen nations with whom they were in constant contact, whose gods seem always to have had a fascination for them. He aimed to so exalt Yahweh as to convince them of his infinite superiority over all that is called god in regard to both power and righteousness. In this great argument, the creation of the world, the transactions of Eden, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, and other traditions, play a conspicuous part.

Having magnified Yahweh by this use of the ancient legends, he gathered from the historic period incidents by which to impress upon the ungrateful Hebrews the

supreme fact that it was only through the special favor of Yahweh they had become a nation, and in that capacity had attained to greatness.

In following the providential order by which these results had been reached, the Yahvistic author brought out the ethical nobleness of Abraham and his high favor with God. He showed him to have been "the friend of God" and a sharer of his secrets; the chosen one in whom all nations should be blessed. This was followed by the stories of Isaac and Jacob on to the formation of the tribes of Israel, to show their high and virtuous origin as compared with the ignoble liaisons to which they traced the birth of those nations, whose gods they were prone to follow. Abraham, he declared, was the father of the Hebrews, but the Moabites and Ammonites were the children of Lot, through the unchaste conduct of his two daughters. The Ishmaelites were descended from a slave, while the Israelites could boast of Isaac, the child of promise, as their great ancestor. The Edomites had Esau for father, a parentage obviously much inferior to that of a people descended from a prince who could "prevail with God." Thus seems to run the argument all through Genesis, and the conclusion is emphatic, that a people of such noble birth should be faithful to the God who had given it by the special ordering of his providence.

Throughout the remainder of Yahvistic document the same persuasive reasoning continues. Yahweh visits his people in their bondage and brings them out of Egypt "with a mighty hand and outstretched arm," and by wonderfully miraculous interposition leads them through the Wilderness to the land of their inheritance.

The Deuteronomist grasps with a master mind the purpose of the Yahvist's teachings. "Ask now," says he, "of the days that are past, * * * since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from one side

of heaven unto the other whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is or hath been heard like it? Did ever a people hear the voice of God, speaking out of the midst of fire, as thou hast, and live? Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation, from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes? Unto thee it was showed that thou mightest know that *Yahweh* is God. There is none else beside him.

"Out of Heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might instruct thee, and upon earth he showed thee his great fire; and thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire.

"And because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out in his sight with his mighty power out of Egypt; to drive out the nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance as it is this day.

"Know, therefore, this day, and consider, that the Lord is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath; there is none else. Thou shalt keep, therefore, his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee this day, and that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, forever."—Deuteronomy iv: 31-40.

What the Deuteronomist desired to accomplish by his persuasive rehearsal of God's wonderful provinces the Yahvist hoped to achieve by the presentation of like events in a more historical form. The whole trend of his work was the commendation of the claims of Yahweh, based on her history, to the faith and devotion of Israel.

THE ELOHIST.

The Elohist was a prophetical writer of the Northern Kingdom, and composed his book about 750 B. C. Unlike the Yahvist, he betrays no fondness for the priesthood or the Temple in Jerusalem, nor yet for kings. He loved the old theocracy, which began with Moses and ended with Samuel. Taking the call of Abraham as the starting point of his historical argument, he selected such incidents in the national records as placed God's hostility to idolatry and immorality in greatest prominence. Every violation of God's will is followed by swift punishment, and every act of repentance by pardon. His contest is with the widespread idolatry and wickedness of the Northern Kingdom, which he seeks to overcome by showing that the safety and happiness of the people were to be found only in faithful obedience to Elohim and his righteous laws, as set forth in his ethical covenants and enforced by his prophets.

THE DEUTERONOMIST.

At a later period, seventh century B. C., came the book of Deuteronomy. After the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, and after the days of Isaiah and Micah, it was produced as a recodification of the laws of Moses, and a re-arrangement of his prophetical discourses. It had two conspicuous objects, viz., first, to enforce, under Mosaic sanctions, the old prophetical lessons of righteousness, and, second, to unify the people of Judah by the concentration of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem. As St. John, in his Gospel, gives the discourses of Christ in what we may call the Johannine style, so the writer or compiler of Deuteronomy clothes, in his own majestic style, the teachings of the great Lawgiver, and gives to them such dramatic setting as the ancient records warrant and the exigencies of the truth require.

It is not at all probable that he invented the law of the one place of worship and the one altar, but there are reasons for believing that he found among his sources of information evidence of such having been the original design of Moses, to be realized when the Israelites should have become a settled nation. The Mosaic ideal, he plainly tells us in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomy, was not realized in the wilderness; during the forty years of wanderings the people did what was right in their own eyes, a condition of things which was to continue until God should give them rest from all their enemies, so that they might dwell safely; but when this should transpire, God would choose a place, and thither they should bring their burnt offerings, and their sacrifices, and their tithes, etc. (Deuteronomy xii: 10, 11). The proper conditions for the enforcement of this Mosaic tentative command were left to the judgment of the future authorities of the nation, and these (supposing they knew of the Mosaic injunction), decided that the time for its enforcement had not arrived until Josiah, who, under the influence of the book of Deuteronomy, determined to accomplish it. There are some indications that Hezekiah, eighty years before, thought the time had come to introduce the system of Temple unity, but he soon found that the conditions of unrest in the nation, and the dangers which environed it, did not meet the requirements of such a revolution. It is hardly probable that Hezekiah derived his knowledge from the book of Deuteronomy, but that he had access to the sources from which that book was afterwards compiled, perhaps by one inspired by his failure. Had the book of the Law, as contained in Deuteronomy, been in circulation at that time, Isaiah and Micah could hardly have escaped its influence, and left no trace of its peculiar presentation of the law of central worship, nor yet of its high sanctions of the Levitical priesthood. I

cannot go further into the elaborate arguments which show that Deuteronomy was written after the reign of Hezekiah, but accepting as conclusive the claims of Orientalists generally, there is not the slightest reason to lower its standing as a sacred oracle or to feel doubtful of its divine sanctions. Though the book, as such, was not written by Moses, it preserves substantially the Mosaic laws and regulations, with expansions and additions to adapt them to the progress of society.

Deuteronomy itself does not claim Moses for its author, but it does claim to set forth his discourses and laws. The standpoint of the compiler is not, as the King James version gives it, on the east side of Jordan, but is most distinctly on the west side. He does not begin by saying, "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on *this* side Jordan in the wilderness," etc., but (as in the Revised Version) "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness," etc. Clearly the book was not commenced until after the death of Moses and the Jordan had been crossed.

"Beyond Jordan in the land of Moab began Moses to declare this law, saying," are the words of one who wishes to make plain to all men that he is not representing himself as the great lawgiver, but as a scribe who is about to set forth the discourses and laws as delivered by Moses. The laws had already been codified mainly in the documents of the Yahvist and Elohist, but a more direct unfolding of them, in their application to a new condition of things, was needed for their fuller influence upon Hebrew life; and the material for this was at hand in the archives of the nation and in the religious literature of the times. To recast these materials, and to rearrange them, so as to give popular effect to the Mosaic orations, was the task which the writer of Deuteronomy set himself. Needless to say, he accomplished it in a grand

fashion; like St. John, he produced a work which, though saturated with his lofty spirituality, was at the same time a true presentation of the teachings of his great master. Indeed, no charge can be brought against the Deuteronomist which does not lie with equal weight against St. John. If he clothes the teaching of Moses in his own lofty style, so does St. John clothe the discourses of Jesus; and while St. John made the most successful presentation of the character and teachings of Christ, the Deuteronomist revealed to us Moses and his laws in their truest and most complete form—a work well worthy of the greatest of the prophets. If Moses was inspired to utter his deliverances, this prophet was inspired to present their contents in a form that for all ages would stand as the highest expression of ancient revelation. If Moses himself had written the book in all its details, it would not have been truer in its representations, nor would it have deserved more credit as a revelation from God.

THE PRIESTS' CODE.—450 B. C.

Next in order is the Priests' Code. This was written from a priestly standpoint, mainly after the time of Ezekiel. Its author made use of the older documents, as they suited his purpose, which was to give an ecclesiastical history of his people. Like any modern church historian, he sought out those sources of information which, while they did not ignore secular life, showed it as it was dominated by the religious element. As the prophets in the books J., E. and Dt. had laid emphasis upon events and ordinances of worship which bore upon moral conduct, so the priestly author gave prominence to such things as enforced the claims of the priesthood, the central worship of the Temple and other prominent religious institutions; his main object being to codify, with historic setting, the laws of the priesthood, sacrifice, purifications,

etc. His sources were chiefly the records treasured in priestly circles, and these sources claimed Mosaic authority for all the usages of the Levitical ceremonial.

He begins his work with that grand account of creation given in Genesis i-ii:4a, and proceeds to give the generations of Adam and the genealogies of the Patriarchs to Noah. An extended account of the deluge follows, which is closed by the covenant with Noah. In chapter x he gives the generations of Noah together with the distributions of the families of his sons to their various habitations. In chapter xi he records the generations of Shem, and follows with a brief account of Abram, of the covenant of circumcision (chapter xxii: 1) and of the circumcision of Isaac, the child of promise (chapter xxi: 4). He has much to tell of the sons of Jacob and of the descendants of Esau (chapter xxxiv-xxxviii), and follows with an enumeration of the family of Jacob upon their going down to Egypt, and closes his account in Genesis with some brief notices of the last days of Jacob. Of his work only a few scattered portions are found in the book of Exodus until we reach chapter xxv, when he begins his account of the building of the Tabernacle, etc., and follows it to the end of the book, with the exception of chapters xxxii-xxxiv: 28. The whole of Leviticus is his work (for it is probable that he engrossed the Law of Holiness, chapter xvii-xxvi). In this book he gives a most minute account of the laws of sacrifice and of the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, and the service of the Tabernacle—following it in the book of Numbers, with long genealogical tables, regulations of the Levites, and several incidents illustrative of the workings of the Levitical laws, on to the death of Aaron. In the book of Joshua here appears conspicuously in the accounts of the distribution to the various tribes of their inheritances, and in various events with which Eleazar, the

son of Aaron, is conspicuously connected. It is with the establishment of the exclusive one-altar worship and the exclusive priesthood of Aaron and his sons that the writer of the Priests' Code is most concerned, and it is upon these things that he is most emphatic. His laws of the one altar and priesthood, as given in Leviticus xvii: 1-9, Numbers iii: 5-8, have an unmistakable intention.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them: This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded, saying,

"What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp,

"And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the Lord before the tabernacle of the Lord; blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people;

"To the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace offerings unto the Lord.

"And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the Lord at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto the Lord.

"And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring. This shall be a statute forever unto them throughout their generations.

"And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice,

"And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the Lord; even that man shall be cut off from among his people."—Leviticus xvii: 1-9.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

"Bring the tribe of Levi near, and present them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister unto him.

"And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation, before the tabernacle of the congregation, to do the service of the tabernacle.

"And they shall keep all the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle.

"And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and his sons: they are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel.

"And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death."—Numbers iii: 5-10.

See also many other places where these laws give to Aaron and his sons the *exclusive* priesthood, and make the central altar at the tabernacle in the wilderness the *exclusive* place of sacrifice.

It is again and again declared in Leviticus and Numbers that Moses published and enforced these laws in the wilderness; but this claim is confronted by a series of facts fatal to its correctness.

(1) There was another law given at Sinai by which sacrifice might legally be made upon other altars than that at the door of the Tabernacle:

"An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice unto me thy burnt offerings and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen; in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not

build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon."—Exodus xx: 24-26.

In accordance with the law:

(2) "Moses * * * rose up early and builded an altar * * * and he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the Lord."—Exodus xxiv: 4, 5.

(3) After like fashion Joshua built an altar and offered sacrifice on Mount Ebal, which, it is said, was done in obedience to the law.

(Written in the book of the Law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lifted up any iron.—Joshua viii: 31.)

Plainly Joshua did not know of the laws making the priesthood of Aaron and his sons and their altar of brass at the door of the Tabernacle *exclusive*.

(4) It is said in the book of Judges (vi: 24-27) that Gideon built an altar and offered sacrifices, and in chapter xiii: 17-25, we are told that Manoah made an offering upon a rock, which God accepted.

(5) We are informed in the same book (xxi: 4) that, during the controversy of Israel with the tribe of Benjamin, the people built an altar unto the Lord and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings.

(6) We are told in the book of I Samuel (vii: 17) that Samuel built an altar unto the Lord at Ramah, and in xiv: 35, that King Saul built an altar.

(7) In II Samuel we are informed that King David built an altar and offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, though he had just brought back the ark and placed it in the Tabernacle he had built for it.

(8) King Solomon went from Jerusalem to Gibeon

and made a great sacrifice, and was there favored by God with his noted vision, which showed plainly that his offerings were accepted.

(9) According to the book of Deuteronomy, Moses did not establish in the wilderness the Aaronic priesthood with exclusive rights to minister at one exclusive altar, but said to the people in his final charge to them:

"When ye go over Jordan * * * ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man what is right in his own eyes. But when ye go over Jordan and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about so that ye dwell in safety, then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there; thither ye shall bring all that I command you, your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and your peace offerings of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto the Lord."—Deuteronomy xii: 8-11.

Assuming that the Deuteronomist correctly quoted the words of Moses, how can they be harmonized with the laws of the *exclusive* altar at the door of the Tabernacle, and the *exclusive* priesthood of Aaron and his sons in their historic setting as given in Leviticus and Numbers? Moses is represented as saying in effect that no such exclusiveness pertained to either the Tabernacle altar or the priesthood; and, further, that none was to pertain, even in regard to the one altar, until a remote time and under new conditions. "Then shall there be a place which the Lord your God shall choose," etc. The place ultimately chosen was Jerusalem, and the time for the enforcement of the one-altar law was the reign of King Josiah (621 B. C.); but the law of the exclusive Aaronic priesthood was as yet not known, though this period was more than six centuries after Moses.

The Deuteronomist knew nothing of it, for in the addresses of Moses as he gives them, Aaron and his sons are never mentioned as entitled to exclusive rights in the priesthood. On the contrary, it is always implied that the Levites as a body are of the priesthood, the usual word used being "the priests the Levites." The idea of confining the priesthood to the Aaronic line came much later, certainly after the Temple vision of Ezekiel, 574 B. C. This prophet excludes the Levites from the priestly office in the restored Temple, because of their former defection. He says (xliv: 12-16):

"Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and caused the house of Israel to fall into iniquity; therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the Lord God, and they shall bear their iniquity.

"And they shall not come near unto me, to do the office of a priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, in the most holy place; but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have committed.

"But I will make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein.

"But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me, and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord God.

"They shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge."

Hence, it follows that the Levites, up to the time of the building of the second Temple, were to continue in the rights *they had hitherto enjoyed as priests.* The time of judgment for their defection would come, and because

of that defection they would not be permitted then to "come near unto" God "to do the office of a priest."

All this is irreconcilable with the law of the exclusive Aaronic priesthood as given in the wilderness in P.

I give again the law of the Aaronic priesthood, according to this document (Numbers iii: 1-10):

"These also are the generations of Aaron and Moses, in the day that the Lord spake with Moses in Mount Sinai.

"And these are the names of the sons of Aaron; Nadad the first-born, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

"These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests which were anointed, whom he consecrated to minister in the priest's office.

"And Nadab and Abihu died before the Lord, when they offered strange fire before the Lord, in the wilderness of Sinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar ministered in the priest's office in the sight of Aaron their father.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

"Bring the tribe of Levi near, and present them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister unto him.

"And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation, before the tabernacle of the congregation, to do the service of the tabernacle.

"And they shall keep all the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle.

"And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron, and to his sons; they are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel.

"And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office, and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death."

If this law had been proclaimed and enforced in the wilderness, we would rightly expect to find in the religious records of the centuries immediately following a recognition of "the priests *and* the Levites" as distinct orders. But such is not the case; the distinction is not noticed in the early literature, and becomes prominent only in the post-Exilic records.

(1) Deuteronomy, as we have seen, gives no hint of two orders, "the priests *and* the Levites," but (I repeat for the sake of clearness), uses the word "the priests the Levites," or simply "the priests," generally the former, and in xviii: 6, gives the law securing to the country Levites their priestly rights, when the law of one altar should be enforced. Note here that the Levites are treated *as priests*, and that in II Kings xxiii: 8, they are called "priests," thus showing conclusively that the word "Levites," as used in Deuteronomy xviii: 6, and the word "priests," as used in II Kings xxiii: 8, are synonymous.

(2) The book of Joshua makes no mention of "the priests *and* the Levites," but like Deuteronomy speaks of "the priests the Levites." This is done throughout the law of inheritance, even in the parts assigned by critics to the Priests' Code, thus showing that the priestly writer was true to the ancient documents. He gave what he found in the records, and not what his predilections would have suggested. Had the words "priests *and* Levites" been used in the ancient traditions, his post-Ezekiel convictions would have secured their continuance.

(3) The book of Judges is silent about the priesthood, except in the case of the Levite who became priest in the private chapel of Micah and finally in that of the Danites at Lachish (xvii: 16), which is incontestable evidence that the Danites believed a Levite was really a priest.

(4) The books of Samuel and Kings know nothing of "priests *and* Levites." They recognize the priesthood

of Eli at Shiloh, of Abimelech at Nob, and of Abiathar and Zadok in Jerusalem. The word priest is frequently used for the whole order of the priesthood, and sometimes only for the two officiating priests; but the word Levites is always used as the equivalent of priests. Thus: (I Samuel vi: 15) "And the Levites took down the ark of the Lord." To handle the ark was the privilege of "the priests the Levites" (Joshua iii: 3). (II Samuel xv: 24): "And Zadok and all the Levites that were with him bearing the ark of the covenant of God."

I Kings viii: 34: (*a*) The elders of Israel and the priests bear the ark. (*b*) Verse 24: The priests (that is Zadok and the second officiating priest) and the Levites bear the sacred vessels.

In the writings of the pre-Exilic prophets there is no mention of "priests *and* Levites;" and most significantly Jeremiah writes: "The priests the Levites" (xxxiii: 18), and "the Levites the priests" (xxxiii: 21). Generally he confines himself to "priest."

It was after the formulation of Ezekiel's law of the second Temple, and doubtless through its influence that the ancient usage began to change; for, while Ezekiel uses the words "the priests the Levites," he confines it to the sons of Zadok; and he denies to the Levites, in punishment for their defection, the functions of priests, and thus differentiates them into a separate order.

The influence of this law of Ezekiel soon became paramount. This prophet, under divine sanction, amended the ancient law, thus giving to the Jewish church a new organization of its priesthood, in the same manner that the Deuteronomist , under like divine sanction, had given it a new law of sacrifice by confining it to one altar. As this one-altar worship from the days of Josiah had been recognized in the literature, so this law of the priests and Levites was recognized in the post-Ezekiel writings.

In Ezra i: 5, the distinction between the two orders is

emphasized. With this author it is "the priests and the Levites." This positive differentiation is adhered to all through the books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles, as it is also in the second Isaiah (Isaiah lxvi: 21), "the great prophet of the exile."

In the historical books of post-Exilic origin the distinction between priest and Levite is not only sharply drawn, but the position and duties of each order are so clearly indicated that no confusion can arise concerning their functions.

From all this it follows that, consciously or unconsciously, under the influence of the Temple vision of Ezekiel, traditions concerning the Mosaic law grew up in Babylon among a school of the priests which, like some Christian traditions, were imported into the older documents, and came to be accepted as authentic parts of their original institutions and laws.

These traditions the author of the Priests' Code accepted in the form in which he found them, and gave to them such historic setting as the nature of the laws demanded.

What connection Ezra had with the origin of the Priests' Code we do not know, but it is evident that he brought it to Jerusalem and promulgated it as "the law of Moses" (444 B. C.).

The problem is before us. We have found four leading documents in the Hexateuch, J., E., Dt. and P. Of these only P. speaks of the priestly regulations which we have been discussing. Dt. gives the law of one altar, P. confines the ministrations at that one altar to the sons of Aaron. How did P. come into prominence with its Aaronic priesthood, ministering exclusively in the Tabernacle in the wilderness?

My thesis is (after F. E. König) that Moses did establish in the wilderness the Tabernacle or tent of

meeting, with its ark and altar, and that he did confer upon Aaron and his sons the chief direction of the worship therein as conducted by "the priests the Levites," and that he gave many and minute regulations for the proper conduct of sacrifices, offerings, purifications, etc., but that he did not make this central or tabernacle worship exclusive. As a great cathedral does not close the parish churches, so the cathedral in the wilderness did not close to the people the simpler houses of God, with their altars of earth or of unhewn stone. And so both systems, with their different cults, were recognized as legal, and went on together without hindrance from the authorities for about five hundred and eighty years, Egyptian chronology, when Hezekiah made his attempt to centralize worship in Jerusalem, and more than six hundred and fifty years when Josiah established the one altar in the Temple by making effective the law in Deuteronomy xii. This act led the way to the full development of the Aaronic priesthood and the exclusive one-altar worship, so definitely exploited in the Priests' Code.

But while there is no place for the law of the *exclusive* priesthood of Aaron and his sons among the historic facts, as given in the older documents, J., E. and Dt., and the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings, there is room for the central altar and the priesthood of Aaron and his sons in connection with the priests the Levites, as in conducting sacrificial worship in the Tabernacle in the wilderness, in the house of God at Shiloh, and in the Temple at Jerusalem. This becomes evident when we note the line of historic facts covering the period from the early days of the Exodus to the destruction of the Temple.

According to J. and E., Aaron was of the family of Levi, and was closely connected with Moses as some sort of an official (Exodus xvii: 12, xix: 24, and xxiv: 1). He was recognized by the people as their religious leader

when they caused him to make the golden calf to worship, Exodus xxxii: 22-35. He, with Miriam, rashly claimed equality with Moses (Numbers xii: 1-15), for which defection the Lord showed indignation by withdrawing the cloud from the door of the Tabernacle. He is not mentioned as connected with the ark, but the priests bore the ark at the passage of Jordan, and when it rested at Mizpah, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, a son of Aaron, stood before it (Judges xx: 27); and when the ark was in the house of God in Shiloh, Eli, a son of Aaron, ministered at the central altar as chief priest. Note from this time forward that though there are other sacrificings, yet the altar at the Tabernacle is honored. David, though offering sacrifice elsewhere, built a tabernacle and restored the ark to its place of dignity, appointing Abiathar and Zadok, sons of Aaron, priests, associated with all the Levites (II Samuel xv: 24, 25). When Solomon came to the throne, he made Zadok priest (I Kings ii: 35), and when the ark was borne to its place in the Temple there were great sacrificings, at which the priests officiated (I Kings viii: 11).

Note further that though there were free sacrificings all over the land at the sacred places, yet the altar at the Tabernacle, with its officiating sons of Aaron, was held in deep respect; that though David offered sacrifice in Jerusalem, yet he restored the Tabernacle worship under Abiathar and Zadok; and that though Solomon went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, and was approved of God (I Kings iii: 1-5), yet, on his return to Jerusalem, he sacrificed before the ark, thus showing his reverence for its central claims, while he exercised his *legal* freedom of altar worship elsewhere (I Kings iii: 15); and, finally, this central worship, under leadership of sons of Aaron, continued down to the captivity of Judah and the destruction of the Temple.

Now, leaving out of consideration the expansions and additions to the laws of worship, etc., which arose through centuries of practice and became indistinguishably classed with the original regulations of Moses, we reach the conclusion that the *exclusiveness* of the central worship, the one altar, and the Aaronic priesthood, were a gradual development, reaching its first epoch in the reign of Josiah, and attaining to its completed form after Ezekiel; and that the fully elaborated laws as given in Leviticus and Numbers were interpolations into the records, from which the compiler of the Priests' Code drew his information. As the one altar had been established to the exclusion of all others by Josiah, in obedience to Deuteronomy, and as the sons of Aaron were in connection with its services, being leaders of the "priests the Levites," it was but a logical step to conclude that the Mosaic ideal gave warrant for the limitation of the actual ministrations at that one altar to that one family of priests.

Interpolations after this fashion do not impair the religious value of the document containing them. Our ability to disentangle the interpolation from the history obviously gives to the latter higher claims to credit, and, in this instance, makes clear the process of the development of the priestly legislation.

I insist, therefore, that, after all critical elimination and readjustments are made, the Priests' Code occupies a real historical position. Its author looked at the events of Hebrew life and worship from a priestly standpoint; and though he made misstatements as to the date and sources of some of the laws, he was sincere in giving the contents of the traditions he followed. But the laws thus misplaced did not lose their divine authority. Assigning them to Moses rather than to their real source did not impair their significance in the religion of Israel; it

merely obscured the logical sequence of the several stages of inspired progress from Moses to the Deuteronomist, from the Deuteronomist to Ezekiel, and from Ezekiel to Ezra.

Now, thanks to the Higher Criticism, we are able to correct these misplacements and to show the actual order in which God unfolded his will to his chosen people. He gave to Moses, as we now see, the germinal forms of moral, ecclesiastical and civil organization. Inspired prophets, judges, priests and kings amended and enlarged the Mosaic legislation as the emergencies of the times required. The tent of meeting or Tabernacle, with its simple arrangements, was replaced by the Temple; the many altars in sacred places were reduced to one in the Temple, and "the priests the Levites" became the priests *and* Levites, etc.

All these changes were of inspired authority. The book of Deuteronomy and the historical books of Samuel and Kings reveal to us the dates and conditions of new enactments before the Exile, while the books of Ezekiel, Ezra and Nehemiah make clear the progress of priestly legislation under providential guidance until the priesthood and ritual attain nearly the completeness of the form in which Christ found them.

CHAPTER V.

THE ORDER AND DATES OF THE COMPOSITE WORK.

The history of the origin of the four leading documents having been outlined, it now becomes my duty to give some account of their use in the composition of the Hexateuch. This was not the work of one person nor of one age. The Yahvistic and Elohistic documents were probably combined before Deuteronomy was written, because many of their narratives and laws were used in the composition of the latter. Some time after the publication of Deuteronomy it was added to J., E. This combination gave to the Jews the book of "the Law of Moses" that we find in use upon the consecration of the second Temple, 516 B. C. It must not be imagined that this sacred book had attained a fixed form that rendered it exempt from re-editings and re-combinations; on the contrary, it was for a long time treated with great freedom by the learned scribes. In 458 B. C. Ezra came to Jerusalem but did not publish his law, which was undoubtedly the Priests' Code, until 444 B. C. It is hardly probable that at this time it had been interwoven with Dt., J., E., as these constituted the "book of the Law of Moses" already in the hands of the priests of the second Temple; and as Ezra in a measure discredited the usage it sanctioned. If, however, the Priests' Code was at that time a separate book, it did not long remain so, but was soon combined with the old book of the law. This gave to the Jews their first canon of Scripture, "the Pentateuch," and the year 432 B. C. may be taken as the approximate date of this composite work. It could not

have been much later, for the Samaritan Pentateuch, which was substantially a true copy of it, must have been made near that time. (See *Canon of the Old Testament*, by Ryle, pp. 91-93.)

The Pentateuch as thus compiled and accepted by the people nevertheless was still treated with some degree of freedom. But "with the exception of a few possible later insertions, and of certain minor alterations, due to an occasional revision of the text, 'the Torah' has probably descended to us very little changed."—Ryle.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICITY.

It is popularly held that the book of Genesis is an inspired history, and as such literally true, the Creation chapters being special revelations to Moses. These views were generally held by even the best Biblical scholars before geology demonstrated the impossibility of the creation of the universe in six days. The new science met sharp resistance, and the results of its discoveries won reluctant acceptance only after severe conflict. The theory that the "days" of the creation record might be taken as "great cycles of time" was gladly welcomed by many for a while. But it soon became evident that we could not hold to this view in the face of an honest exegesis. The first chapters of Genesis could no longer be looked upon as revealed history. If not, what then? Archæology, another new science, answers, they are prehistoric traditions which came down to the Jews from their Babylonian ancestors, and were probably known to Abraham and cherished by him and his descendants as invaluable treasures of their religion. This was made evident when George Smith had read the Ninevite tablets, and given to the world the legends of ancient Babylonia in his "Chaldean Account of Genesis" (1875). "The result was," says Prof. Sayce, "the earlier chapters of Genesis no longer stood alone. Parallel accounts had been discovered by the author among the clay records of ancient Babylonia, which far exceed in antiquity the venerable histories of the Bible." Since this was written Assyriology has risen to the dignity of a science, and it

has been demonstrated that all the narratives of the early chapters of Genesis have behind them Assyro-Babylonian traditions reaching back many ages before the days of Moses or even of Abraham.

Lenormant (*Beginnings of History*, pp. 15, 16) asks, "How then should the first chapters of Genesis be regarded? As a revealed account or as a human tradition preserved by inspired writers as the truest ancient record of their race? This is the problem in comparing the narrations of the Sacred Book with those current long ages before the time of Moses among the nations whose civilization dated back into the remote past, with whom Israel was surrounded, from whom it came out. As far as I myself am concerned, the conclusion from this study is not doubtful.

"That which we read in the first chapters of Genesis is not an account dictated by God himself, the possession of which was the exclusive privilege of the chosen people. It is a tradition whose origin is lost in the night of the remotest ages, and which all the great nations of Western Asia possessed in common, with some variations. The very form given it in the Bible is so closely related to that which has been lately discovered in Babylon and Chaldea, it follows so exactly in the same course, that it is quite impossible for me to doubt any longer that it has the same origin. The family of Abraham carried this tradition with it in the migration which brought it from Ur of the Chaldees into Palestine, and even then it was doubtless already, either in a written or an oral form, for beneath the expressions of the Hebrew text in more than one place there appear certain things which can be explained only as expressions peculiar to the Assyrian language. * * * The Biblical writers, in recording this tradition at the beginning of their books, created a genuine archæology in the sense attached to the word by the

Greeks. The first chapters of Genesis constitute a 'book of beginnings,' in accordance with the stories handed down in Israel from generation to generation, ever since the time of the Patriarchs, which in all its essential affirmations, is parallel with the statement of the sacred books from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris."

It follows, therefore, from the teachings of geology and archæology that the first chapters of Genesis are not of historical value. But it does not follow that they lose their importance in the religion of Israel, as will appear when we come to consider the subject of inspiration.

Genesis xi: 27 brings us to the historic period of Hebrew literature. The genealogy of Terah, the call and migration of Abraham, the secular, social and religious experiences of the Patriarchs in Palestine and Egypt, in the Wilderness and in Canaan—all lie within the historic period, and the documents recording them can be studied and interpreted in the light of scientific discoveries.

Let it be freely admitted that long before the days of Moses the Jews possessed a written literature, and in common with their civilized neighbors had records of family, natal and national events, and that out of these came the documents which compose the Hexateuch; still the question remains—did their authors record only historic happenings or have they not gathered from the rich stores of the nation's literature much that cannot, with confidence, be so designated? Have not other legends than those of Babylonia been utilized by them for the accomplishment of their purposes? If it is true, as I have tried to show, that the authors of the documents were not historians but advocates, is it not probable that they would gladly use, in the enforcement of their moral and religious lessons, other stories than those of a strictly historical character? And if so, would they impair the credibility of their record of really historical incidents? When

we study Greek or Roman history we have no difficulty with such questions. There are laws of historical criticism that guide us, so that we can separate the legendary stories of men and gods with confidence. Now the great contribution of the Higher Criticism has been precisely here. It has shown that Hebrew legends are not exempted from the operation of these laws; but that, upon the contrary, when scientifically examined, they yield equally satisfactory results.

The critical process gives us the *real history* of the Hebrews. If some things in the documents are shown to belong to the class of parable or allegory, and others to be of the nature of folklore and legend, yet they are all legitimately in the line of the history of the nation's literature.

"Historical truth and revealed truth are essentially distinct. Historical truth is not *ipso facto* revelation. Revelation is not necessarily historical truth. A parable may convey more revelation that the most exact chronological table."—R. F. Horton, *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 7.

In the meantime, the historic progress from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob on to the formation of the twelve tribes, together with their exodus, wilderness-journey and final conquest of Canaan, remain beyond serious question. Incidents here and there may be subjected to corrective criticism; but after all is done we may confidently affirm that the records of no other ancient nation can be compared for a moment with these in the matter of positive historicity.

CHAPTER VII.

INSPIRATION.

Having shown that the Hexateuch is a composite work, we come now to discuss its inspiration, which, we insist, is not antagonized by such origin. Of course, if the results of the Higher Criticism are accepted, several prominent theories of inspiration must be abandoned, simply because the new conditions leave no place for them.

First, we find no place for the theory of verbal inspiration according to which the sacred writers became mere stenographers of the Spirit; for the critical process shows that they freely used variant documents, besides imposing upon their compositions the peculiarities of their style and the defects of their literary and scientific attainments.

Second, we are compelled to reject the claim that the inspiration of the Hexateuch was of such a nature that the authors were preserved from all error. This we reject, because the critical method has pointed out quite a number of imperfections in this compilation.

But the inspiration which we can find room for in view of the facts made evident by the critical method may be thus outlined:

A prophet becomes profoundly conscious of receiving from God great religious and moral truths, either by objective revelation or spiritual illumination, or both, which truths he is under like consciousness impelled to publish as divine revelations. This he proceeds to do in his own literary style, in the common language of the people, using such illustrations drawn from the current literature as will make clear and enforce his inspired concepts. To

this end he levies draughts upon ancient legends, traditions, historical records, poetry, folk stories, parables, allegories and popular science.

Accepting this idea of inspiration, we must note that the divinely given concepts, consciously held by the prophet, are shaped and colored by the limitations and characteristics of his mind and heart; and may, when delivered to the people, be far below the divine ideal, though of immense value to the world as then conditioned.

But, in spite of all limitations, he is in a most notable degree above his age, and when he uses the current literature he fills it with a new and diviner spirit. Ancient historic facts or legends take on a higher significance, and are made to illustrate a loftier theism and a purer morality. If he uses, as does the author of the Priests' Code, the Babylonian story of Creation (Genesis i-ii: 4) he transforms it into a sublime monotheistic *Hymn of Creation.* Says Lenormant, "It is the same narrative, and in it the same episodes succeed one another in like manner; and yet one would be blind not to perceive that the significance has become altogether different. The exuberant polytheism which encumbers these stories among the Chaldeans has been carefully eliminated to give place to the severest monotheism. What formerly expressed a naturalistic conception of moral grossness here becomes the garb of moral truth of the most exalted and most purely spiritual order. The essential features of the form of the tradition have been preserved, yet between the Bible and the sacred books of Chaldea there is all the distance of one of the most tremendous revolutions which has ever been effected in human beliefs. Herein consists the miracle, and it is none the less amazing for being transposed. Others may seek to explain this by the simple natural process of the conscience of humanity; for myself

I do not hesitate to find in it the effect of a supernatural intervention of Divine Providence, and I bow before the God who inspired the law and the prophets."—*Beginnings of History*, p. 15.

The inspiration, therefore, is not in the ancient traditions and historical incidents recorded by the sacred writers, but it is their transformation, and in the use made of them as vehicles for teaching profound religious truths.

Here we are at the parting of the ways. The traditionalists insist that no legend or folk-story has place in the Pentateuch, but that all must be accepted as history or as the direct revelation of pre-historic events. This position we have seen to be contrary to the facts, and thus incredible to those who desire to serve the cause of truth.

For the sake of clearness I beg the privilege of again giving an outline of the work of the authors of J., E., Dt. and P., to show their inspiration as to matters ethical and religious and their use of traditions, historical and legendary, as well as of folk-stories.

The Yahvist confronted in Judah a general tendency to idolatry and civic and social corruption, and he was inspired to impress upon the people the supreme greatness of Yahweh and his stern severity as a righteous judge, as well as his loving kindness to his faithful servants. He pursued the inductive method and laid the whole literature of his country under contribution. He began by showing Yahweh to be the creator of all things, claiming absolute obedience to his will—who set before man in Eden, life and death, and after disobedience, executed the penalty. Later on he destroyed the wicked world by the deluge, saving righteous Noah and his family. The author narrates the call of Abraham from the midst of idolaters, that he may be made a great nation. Severity and compassion in like fashion mark the course

of God's providences all through the experiences recorded by the Yahvist in Genesis, Exodus and Joshua. All the incidents selected by this great prophet are such as show that Yahweh saves the righteous and punishes the wicked, to the end that He may make of his chosen people a righteous nation, having no God but Yahweh, who could only be served acceptably in obedience to his covenants of law.

The Elohist, who was of the Northern Kingdom, about fifty years later wrote his document to counteract like evil tendencies.

He exalts the goodness of Elohim in his dealings with Abraham and his family, especially emphasizing the elevation of Joseph as a reward of his righteousness. The incidents of the Exodus, which he makes prominent, show God's severity to the wicked Pharoah and his love to suffering Israel. He makes conspicuous the moral law by recording the grand scenes of its deliverance as it was spoken by Elohim from Mount Sinai.

His conceptions of true righteousness are in conformity with this law, and, unlike the Yahvist, it has little or no connection with things ecclesiastical. Righteousness with him is obedience to the moral law as enforced by prophets without the aid of priestly intervention. He seems to have been of a deeply spiritual nature, and his religious teaching finds full expression in the prophets Hosea and Isaiah.

The Deuteronomist lived in the period of the greatest defection of the Hebrews from Yahweh. Idolatry in its worst forms was triumphant. The high places of heathen worship crowned the hills around the Holy City, and the Temple was invaded by heathen altars built by Manasseh, who for more than fifty years led that defection from Jehovah so graphically portrayed in II Kings xxi. The book of Deuteronomy represents (or is the outcome of

a great religious renaissance) an inspired movement to bring the people back to their true allegiance. Its compiler saw that amidst the general defection there was still great reverence for Moses, but widespread ignorance of his life and laws, as well as of the wonderful providences of Yahweh by which Israel had been brought in safety to the promised land. There were traditions in abundance of these things, but they were known only to the few in prophetical and priestly circles. To bring them out and give them popular form was the manifest aim of the writer. The story of the Wilderness, as presumably rehearsed by Moses, was recast, and the substance of his closing discourses was given in a style and with dramatic settings calculated to win a hearing from the people and move them to repentance.

The first public reading of the book, as authorized by King Josiah, was followed immediately by a remarkable reformation, and for the first time in Jewish history the sacrificial worship of the people was confined to the Temple in Jerusalem. Such was the purpose and such the result of the book of Deuteronomy. Of its inspiration there cannot be the faintest doubt.

The Priests' Code, studied in the light of inspiration as above defined, has much to confirm its contention for the divine origin of its priesthood and ritual. They were the outcome of many "inspirations;" that is to say, all of their leading features came into prominence from time to time as providentially ordered. First came through Moses the prominence of Aaron and his sons in the sacrifices at the Tabernacle or tent of meeting. Second, the one-altar law as enforced by King Josiah. Third, the law of Ezekiel confining the priestly office to the sons of Zadok, which law was given full effect in the second Temple by Ezra. The fact, as we have already seen, that some of these laws were given a

mistaken chronology and authorship by the compiler, by referring them to Moses, did not impair their authority as the products of inspiration. It was a grand movement that brought the whole system into that unity of Temple worship which the Epistle to the Hebrews recognizes as the creation of God, symbolizing the true Temple with its Holy Place and Christ as the one Priest and one Sacrifice.

Every stage of this divinely ordered development was a preparation for the next, just as the last one, with its High Priest and day of Atonement, was the final symbol of Him who offered himself without spot to God.

The traditional and critical views of revelation are face to face in open antagonism. The former insists that Moses and Joshua wrote inspired history which in all its details was infallible. The latter contends that many inspired men made use of the whole literature of the people for unfolding the facts and the doctrines of faith and morals that they were commissisoned to reveal. The former is unique, having no points in harmony with the intellectual and spiritual development of mankind. While the latter is in universal touch with all the facts of an advancing civilization, the former stands in the shadow of long-vanished systems of religion, science and philosophy; the latter in the light of the comprehensive results of the best scholarship of the nineteenth century in all departments of learning. It finds in the wonderful discoveries of the age, inspirations to the profoundest belief that the Hebrew Scriptures were the word of God to his chosen people, and were a conspicuous part of that great movement of Providence by which "God, who of old time spake unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son."

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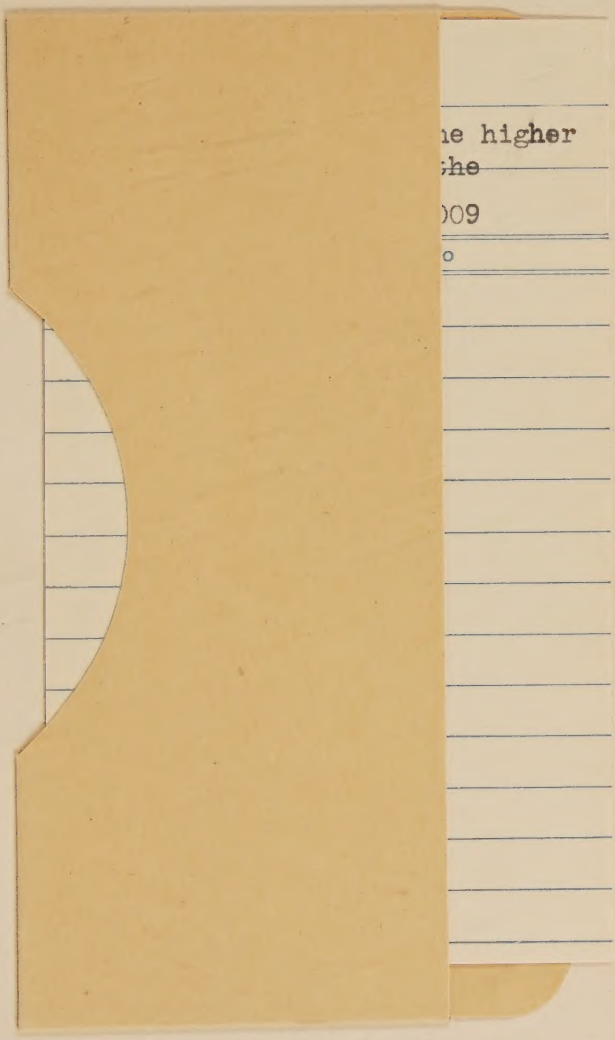
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